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ED 003 583

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DETERMINANTS OF AUDIENCE FORMATION AND REACTION TO
EARLY-MORNING TV COLLEGE CREDIT COURSES.

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PENNSYLVANIA UNIV., PHILADELPHIA, INST. FOR COOP. RES

REPORT NUMBER NDEA-VIIA-523

PUB DATE

63

GRANT OEG-7-48-1100-113

EDRS PRICE MF-\$0.18 HC-\$4.20 105P.

DESCRIPTORS- *EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION, OPEN CIRCUIT TELEVISION,
*TELECOURSES, *TELEVISED INSTRUCTION, *ATTITUDES,
*SOCIOECONOMIC BACKGROUND, PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

A STUDY WAS MADE OF THE DETERMINANTS OF AUDIENCE
COMPOSITION AND AUDIENCE REACTION TO AN EDUCATIONAL
TELEVISION PROGRAM BROADCAST BY A PHILADELPHIA STATION IN
COOPERATION WITH THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AUDIENCE INCLUDED SOCIOECONOMIC
STATUS, PARTICIPATION IN CULTURAL ACTIVITIES, PATTERNS OF
ATTENDANCE, INFORMATION SOURCES AND CRITERIA OF DECISION,
GENERAL OBJECTIVES FOR ENROLLING OR VIEWING, SATISFACTIONS
DERIVED, ATTITUDES TOWARD THE COURSES AND THE PROFESSORS
TEACHING THEM, AND TOWARD THE MEDIUM OF TELEVISION AS AN
INSTRUCTIONAL DEVICE. THE PROBLEM WAS TO IDENTIFY
CHARACTERISTICS COMMON TO ALL MODES OF TELEVISION
PARTICIPATION (INCLUDING NONVIEWING), AND THOSE ASSOCIATED
WITH DIFFERENT MODES OF PARTICIPATION. DATA WERE ANALYZED ON
ALL PEOPLE WHO ENROLLED IN COURSES, BOUGHT A SYLLABUS,
ANSWERED ADS AND REQUESTED INFORMATION, OR WROTE LETTERS. THE
MAJOR INSTRUMENT, WAS A DEPTH INTERVIEW WITH 187
PARTICIPANTS. THE TELEVISION AUDIENCE FOR THE SEMINAR WAS
FOUND TO BE DRAWN IN HIGH PROPORTION FROM THE "MIDDLE" AND
"UPPER MIDDLE" STRATA OF THE COMMUNITY. AUDIENCE
CHARACTERISTICS, ACTIVITIES, PATTERNS OF ATTENDANCE, DECISION
FACTORS, AND MOTIVES, SATISFACTIONS, AND REACTIONS WERE
DISCUSSED. (JC)

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COLLEGE CREDIT COURSES**

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE
Office of Education

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By

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Co-Principal Investigators:

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University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Penna.**

**The Research Reported Herein Was Supported by a Grant from the
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Acknowledgments

This study was conducted with the direct participation and cooperation of many individuals. The original research design, interview schedule, sampling, interviewing and data analysis were devised and supervised in large part by Dr. Robert G. Hayden, who served as co-principal investigator from the inception of this study until November, 1962. The concepts and techniques used in inferring level of aspiration were devised or improved upon by Dr. Elaine K. Hayden, who also was responsible for all work done on the relationship between personality traits and modes of participation. Much of the coding and tabulating was done by Linda Whittington and William Mason. William Powers and Joel Adler did many of the statistical operations. Peter Hesbacher gave freely of his time in a preliminary study of area distribution of the audience and in preliminary hypothesis formulation.

Records of inquiries about the courses, syllabus subscriptions, course enrollees, and course grades were compiled by Mrs. Maria Kudel. Re-tabulations, re-coding, and the statistical operations involved were done by Teresita de Lara, who also edited and proof-read the manuscript. Linda Nowich served faithfully as secretary through most of this project and prepared the manuscript for offset reproduction. Mrs. Helen McBrearty and Mrs. Marcia Norsig were of assistance in many ways, as were many others.

Data processing facilities were freely and graciously provided by the Watson Scientific Computing Laboratories, at Columbia University. Some automatic data processing and related activities were done by Abacus Associates.

Full cooperation of the College of General Studies was provided in succession by Drs. Arleigh P. Hess, Jr., Jean S. Straub, and Richard Stonesifer in their role as director.

C. F. H.

July 15, 1963

I. HIGHLIGHTS

The practice of broadcasting college courses over both commercial and educational television stations is well established, although the role of commercial and educational stations in this practice has not been clearly defined, nor has the time schedule for such televised courses been worked out to everyone's satisfaction.

This is a study of the determinants of formation and reaction of the audience to one such program--Television Seminar, broadcast by WCAU-TV, a CBS-owned Philadelphia station, in cooperation with the College of General Studies of the University of Pennsylvania. Two courses have been broadcast each semester since 1959 at 6:30 a.m., Monday through Friday. The audience member has three options. He may enroll for college credit; he may purchase a course syllabus with lecture outlines and recommended readings; or he may view the courses without enrollment or without course syllabi. A fourth option is also available--those interested in the course may decide to maintain this interest latently, and do nothing more about it, at least for the time being.

The concept of determinants is loosely defined as observed characteristics of the audience and of the courses which interact to influence the behavior of the audience toward the courses. These include socio-economic characteristics, participation in cultural activities, patterns of attendance, information sources and criteria of decision, general objectives for enrolling or viewing, satisfactions

derived, and attitudes toward the courses, the professors teaching them, and to the television as a medium of instruction in these courses as they are currently presented.

The basic problem is to identify characteristics common to all modes of participation (including non-viewing), and those associated with different modes of participation.

Research Intent and Design

The intent of this study was to generate insights by exploring a wide range of behavior of the audience, rather than to test hypotheses difficult to generate without an adequate basis in theory or without prior observations which lead to their formulation. In intent, then, the research is exploratory. Survey and descriptive methods of research appropriate to the exploratory intent were employed.

Data on all people who enrolled in courses, bought course syllabi, answered newspaper advertisements and requested detailed information, or wrote letters (as requested on the air in the Spring of 1961) were available for analyses. The major research instrument, however, was a depth interview with samples of course enrollees in the Spring and Fall semesters of 1961, syllabus subscribers, viewers who wrote postcards or letters, viewers who viewed but did not respond to the request for confirming letters or postcards, and those who expressed interest but did not follow through by enrolling or viewing the courses.

This differentiation of the audience into two subcategories of enrollees (Spring and Fall terms of 1961), three subcategories of

viewers (syllabus subscribers, silent viewers, and responding viewers), and a "control group" of interested non-viewers permits sensitive inter-comparisons among groups which, at least on the surface, behave differently in the modes of response and reaction to Television Seminar courses.

A total of 187 interviews was completed. Except for some attendance data and the course grades of enrollees over several semesters, all tables and tentative statements on determinants of audience formation and response are based on interviews. Intrinsic limitations of the samples are discussed in Chapter III. For purposes of this study, however, the sample is regarded as adequate.

The statements on audience characteristics and pattern of response that follow are tentative formulations. Even when there is an abundance of empirical data, and when tests of reliability of differences clearly indicate either homogeneity or differentiation among audience categories, inferences are presented as tentative. It is not permissible to derive hypotheses from a set of observations, and then turn around and use the same set of observations to support the derived hypotheses.

Class Status of Audience

By every available note, the Television Seminar audience is drawn in high proportion from the "middle" and "upper middle" strata of the community. In family income, level of education, and occupational status, it is "above average" for the community. The majority is married. Marriages are stable, seldom broken by divorce. Interview data indicate that in 70 percent of the combined audience of enrollees, viewers and

interested non-viewers, family income is produced by one person only. Overwhelming proportions of all categories of the audience identify with some religious communion. Few are avowed agnostics or atheists.

So consistent are these socio-economic characteristics that "middle" and "upper middle" class status may be stated as a property of the majority of the Television Seminar audience.

Occupational status is highly operative among the enrollees and syllabus subscribers of Television Seminar. Almost without exception, members of both categories come from families in which the principal wage-earner is employed in a "white collar" or "executive-professional" occupation. The "blue collar" virtually precludes the kind of commitment and involvement in Television Seminar courses represented by enrollment and purchase of a course syllabus as an organizing aid to viewing and to relevant readings. Among other viewers, and among interested non-viewers, a small segment of those interviewed, not exceeding 30 percent, is drawn from "blue collar" families.

Range in age and income is great for all audience categories, but the responding viewers tend to be older than other audience categories. No consistent pattern of difference among categories was found in family income.

Informational Activities

Search for information on current affairs is also characteristic of all categories of the audience. Without exception, a majority of each category and subcategory of the audience reads two or more newspapers regularly. The proportions reading two or more newspapers

regularly varies from 58 to 94 percent, and is approximately 80 percent or higher for all categories except course enrollees in the Spring of 1961.

The daily tabloid, The Wall Street Journal, and The Christian Science Monitor remain relatively unread, while The Evening Bulletin, The Philadelphia Inquirer and The New York Times (daily and Sunday) are regularly read in that order of frequency. News is also sought out on television. Newscasts are second only to dramatic programs in order of most frequently viewed television programs. Public service programs were fourth in order of frequency, but the intense emphasis on public service programming had not fully developed in 1961, and this could, in part, account for fourth place position of this type of television program in the choice of Television Seminar audience.

Information is also sought in magazines. Magazine reading covers a great variety of periodicals. Perhaps five or more magazines read regularly is a severe test of "heavy" magazine reading. The severity of this criterion may account for the fact that a higher percentage of the audience appears to be lightly rather than heavily committed to magazine reading.

The percentage of enrollees and syllabus subscribers reading five or more magazines regularly is lower than that of other viewers and of interested non-viewers. Those who did not enroll in the courses, or subscribe to course syllabi, may tend to satisfy their informational needs in reading more magazines. This same tendency is also noticeable in book reading among the responding viewers and non-viewers.

The overall characteristic of the Television Seminar audience is that, in a variety of ways, it is active in the continuing search for information--in newspapers, magazines, books, and on television. The evidence is not clear-cut. It merely suggests that active pursuit of information is characteristic of enrollees, viewers, and interested non-viewers.

Cultural and Social Activities

The majority of all audience categories attend the theater less than five times a year. Attendance at concerts and recitals is somewhat heavier. But only among syllabus subscribers and responding viewers is attendance at five or more such musical performances a year the modal pattern. The Television Seminar audience is not heavily committed, for the most part, to the public arts performed outside the home. It was not possible to quantify the social activities of the audience among relatives, friends, and co-workers, but whatever the pattern, it was regarded as much more satisfactory than unsatisfactory by all categories of the audience.

Organizational membership, which also requires involvements and activity outside the home and the close circle of family and friends, also tended to be on the light side. With only one exception, all categories of the audience reported belonging to one or no organization (other than a religious communion) in greater frequency than belonging to two or more organizations.

In general, then, the Television Seminar audience appears to be more moderate than highly indulgent in its commitment to cultural

and social activities and organizations that place demands on both time and on physical activity.

No strong case can be made from the analysis of data in this study in support of this tentative statement. Nevertheless, the suggestion of its possibility inheres in the data.

Organizational joining, attendance at cultural activities, and wide reading correlate with "middle" and "upper middle" class status. While all these are found in the behavior of the Television Seminar audience, the relative emphasis among these activities appears to favor the sedentary activities involved in the acquisition of information.

The Pattern of Attendance

Peculiar patterns of course selection and attendance appear among the enrollees and viewers of Television Seminar courses. A majority of both types of participants participate on a one-time basis--one course rather than two in any semester, one semester rather than two or more semesters, and one course rather than two or more over a period of several semesters.

Yet, among enrollees and syllabus subscribers (the only two classes of the audience on which data are available over several semesters) there is a core of people who persist beyond the single course and the single semester. Roughly one out of every three enrollees and syllabus subscribers will attend two or more courses over a period of five semesters. This also holds true for semester attendance. Roughly one out of every four enrollees will enroll for courses in two or more semesters, and approximately one out of ten syllabus subscribers will purchase course

syllabi for courses offered during two or more semesters.

From the available data, it appears that viewers are more inclined to commit themselves to both courses offered during a semester than enrollees. Examination of the on-campus courses taken simultaneously by enrollees and by viewers revealed the fact that about half the enrollees in the Television Seminar courses were also enrolled in at least one other college course on campus, whereas neither the viewers nor the interested non-viewers approached this proportion of other on-campus course enrollment.

The Utility of Enrollment and Viewing

Apparently, course enrollees are indeed course enrollees. They seem to set about accumulating college credits in a determined and diverse fashion. For them, television is, among other things, a convenient means of credit accumulation. Some of the material presented in Chapter VIII suggests that credit has a variety of instrumental functions--self-testing, meeting requirements for job promotion or salary increase, or cumulative progress toward an earned college degree.

Viewers, on the other hand, are likely to regard course utility differently, although they vary little from enrollees in stating their important objectives as increasing intellectual interests and self-improvement. They do not seek college credits to attain these general objectives, but they do seek information presented by experts in organized fashion in a series of lectures presented on television over a period of approximately 15 weeks.

This leads to the tentative statement that for course viewers,

the Television Seminar courses are a structured series of lectures-in-depth on a specific subject given by people highly knowledgeable in their specific fields. Course viewers are information seekers unconcerned with the academic accoutrements of acquiring information.

Course Grades and Level of Aspiration

Among enrollees in Television Seminar courses, the pattern of grade achievement is well established and the problem of grade aspiration is opened but remains unsettled.

Over a period of six regular semesters and two summer broadcasts of Television Seminar courses, grade distribution is skewed toward the higher grades. The modal grade is B, occurring in 35 percent of the total courses grades over the history of Television Seminar. With the addition of 12 percent of A grades, the probability of a good or excellent grade in a Television Seminar course is .47.

The grade of C occurs in 22 percent of the cases, and D in ten percent. Thus, the probability of a grade of C or higher is .69, and the probability of any of the several passing grades is .79.

A record of failing grades in the academic book of life is avoided by not appearing for examinations and/or not submitting all required reports or other assignments. The record then shows an I (incomplete) or NS (no standing) in the course. In substance, this constitutes a self-determining drop-out system with no refund of tuition and with opportunity for completing course requirements at some later date. Sixteen percent of the grades are in this category. The remaining five percent of the grades are conditional or failing.

The problem of level of grade aspiration is intrinsic to the academic outlook of the course enrollees. In effect, the problem is whether Television Seminar course enrollees are a coterie of students who strive and drive for high grades above all else, or whether they aspire to meet only minimum requirements, i.e., whether greater utility is attached to course credit per se than to high course grades, and, if so, in what proportion these two utility values are found among the enrollees.

Evidence on this problem is elusive. Enrollees generally state that they are working for the high grades and that they realistically expect high grades. However, when offered a gambler's choice of certainty of a passing grade versus the risk of either a high or a low grade, approximately 60 percent of the course enrollees behave in such a way that it may be inferred that their actual level of aspiration is a D grade, i.e., mere passing of the course with credit. A number of technical problems are involved here but the weight of the available evidence on the actual goals of course enrollees tends to emphasize the high utility of course credit per se.

Tentatively, then, the statement may be advanced that certainty of course credit with minimally passing grade is of greatest utility to somewhat more than half the course enrollees. Characteristics of Seminar course enrollees will be studied more intensively in a subsequent research program.

Attractive Attributes

Three attributes are found to be attractive to both partici-

pants and non-participants in the Television Seminar courses.

One is that of reputation for academic excellence. Reputation for academic excellence is not necessarily an across-the-board matter. It may apply to a professor, a department, a curriculum, or to the institution as a whole. This attribute was mentioned more frequently by viewers than by course enrollees, perhaps because the latter were so deeply involved in meeting course requirements that the academic halo was dimmed by proximity.

Prestige is another attribute. It is an institutional attribute, sometimes believed, with good reason, to rub off on the student, so that the doors of employment and mobility open more readily to him.

The third attribute is the very personal one of family ties to the institutions. These may be as strong as a well-established family tradition of attending a specific college or university, or as tenuous as having attended athletic events on the campus. For want of a better term this attribute has been called kith, an appropriate if archaic term.

However attractive these attributes may be, they do not appear to influence decision to participate or not in Television Seminar courses, or the mode of participation. They assume importance when there is a choice among institutions from which courses may be taken or viewed, not in the choice of enrolling, viewing, or not viewing. At least, so it seems at this writing.

Information Sources

Rarely does any member of the Television Seminar audience, including the interested non-viewer, learn about these courses simply and

only from someone else. Public information is the most frequently used single information source--newspaper articles and advertisements, television announcements, college newsletters or posters, or in many instances among viewers, tuning in on the course by chance. Percentage of various audience categories relying solely on public information sources varied from a low of 42 percent to a high of 72 percent. The remainder combined public with personal sources for information on the courses, their level of difficulty, and the advisability of commitment to participate or not. A glimpse into the role played by personal information in deciding for or against participation in Television Seminar courses is given in Chapter VII.

Factors in Decision

Examination of individual cases among those interviewed in this study sheds some light on the factors involved in decision and the criteria employed. This is one of the several available approaches to the problem of why, in a socio-economically homogeneous group, some enroll for credit in the Television Seminar courses, some view them only, and others consider either of these alternatives and choose neither.

The concept of subjective probability of success encompasses this problem. Success is defined in terms of net gain, i.e., the estimated value exceeds the estimated cost involved.

From the relatively high level of education of both participants and non-participants in Television Seminar courses, it is clear that education has been highly valued in the past. From expression of interest in the courses, it is clear that this value is currently excited, rather than latent or dormant. From the stated reasons given for enrollment and viewing and from statements of satisfactions derived from participating in these courses, it is also clear that formal education is a mediating rather

than an absolute value.

Participation in Television Seminar courses, then, is a specific means of qualifying for or moving toward a variety of goals important to people in their state of life. The value of participation in Television Seminar courses--one or several as the case may be--is the value attached to these courses as instruments for achieving more general, more personal, goals.

Cost, on the other hand, is the price paid in sacrifice of money, time, energy, and sleep, i.e., in comfort. If cost is estimated as excessive to the estimated value of the gain, then the probability of success is low.

Formally stated goals or objectives for participation yield little insight other than that goals are always multiple, that enrollees enroll for college credit which may or may not be integral to a college degree, and that increasing intellectual interests is among the most important general objectives of participants and non-participants alike. The stated goals and the satisfactions derived which, by inference, indicate the more personal goals, are discussed in a following section of this chapter.

Costs are most easily apparent in the reasons given by interested non-viewers for deciding neither to enroll or to view the courses regularly. Three such cost items are repeatedly stated by interested non-viewers: (1) tuition expense, considered too high, either absolutely or in comparison with that of other area colleges and universities; (2) early-rising, considered to be too difficult, either because of established

sleep habits or of evening or night employment; and (3) limited available time, generally because of current academic commitments or out-of-town work assignments.

Information from others on course requirements, course demands, and the nature of examinations and other performance standards play a role in cost estimates. Some evidence exists which suggests that absence of negative information depresses cost estimate, and that presence of negative or unfavorable information increases cost estimate. Availability of acceptable alternatives tends, in some cases, at least, to diminish the instrumental value of participating in Television Seminar courses.

The model of decision as the subjective probability of success, i.e., the likelihood of success as estimated by the individual on the basis of prior experience (or lack of it), is heuristic. Elucidation of this process and identification factors which appear to operate in the process is made on the basis of a few case studies with some support from similar cases. Admittedly, the elucidation is incomplete. Nevertheless, it is offered in Chapter 7 as a highly tentative statement of why the audience decides to be an audience and how the decision is made.

Goals and Satisfactions

From the satisfactions expressed by the Television Seminar audience, some of the goals mediated by course participation may be inferred. In substance, this says that important values are better revealed by course participants in their statements of how they feel about and what they are getting out of the courses during or after participation,

than by the way they rank order a set of objectives or by direct statements of why they enrolled in or viewed the courses.

The three objectives ranked highest by all categories of the audience, including the non-viewers, are increasing intellectual interests, self-improvement, and broadening cultural interests. Enrollees, of course, rank the objectives of obtaining college course credits, as highly important, and viewers and non-viewers do not.

Looking beyond these stated objectives to the goals that may be inferred from the satisfactions expressed, three central goals of participation can be tentatively identified.

Personal elaboration and increase in personal adequacy is one such goal. This goal is not easily reducible to status, prestige, or other such traits associated with self-esteem. Status and prestige might accrue from such feelings, but adequacy and elaboration of the individual seems to be related to self-respect and self-fulfillment.

Another personal goal to which participation in Television Seminar courses appears to be related is that of social approval and admiration. This goal is closely related to the first one. Approval by others confirms and reinforces the feelings of personal adequacy and enlargement or elaboration. It is detected in the silent language of friends and family--the "behind-the-back" bragging, the nods and attitudes of children ever critical of their parents, the hyperbole of friends in expressions of incredibility at the "far-outness" of anyone participating at 6:30 a.m. in a college course(s) on television.

The third goal is that of the inner control of the Puritan

and of traffic hazards and frustrations, including parking difficulties. Another dimension of convenience is the "front-seat" in the course offered by television.

Suggestion is found in the comments of enrollees and viewers that the medium of television magnifies the teacher. For some, it seems to endow the television professor with charismatic qualities, and for others, it intensifies annoyance at personal idiosyncracies.

Charismatic endowment by television, if and when it occurs, appears to be more prevalent among the viewers than among the enrollees. It will be remembered that enrollees were also less inclined to stress academic excellence as an attractive attribute of teachers or colleges and universities of their choice. They are also inclined to be more critical in small ways of the methods of course presentation, and definitely more prone to complain about course demands than are the viewers.

Enrollees appear to want their time and money's worth in the television lectures--the delivery of as much relevant information as possible in the 30-minute broadcast. Viewers, on the other hand, appear content with the television courses as they are.

Enrollees and viewers both appear to be conscious of nervousness or tenseness of the professors in front of the television camera. In such cases, some want to tell the professor to relax, that he is doing extremely well under difficult circumstances.

The quality of the television professor that evoked frequent comment and admiration was knowledgeability and expertness in the subject. Few, if any, in the participating audience made negative comments

on the scholarly stature of the teachers. Many commented favorably, some reverently, on this attribute.

Among enrollees, the classical complaint that they had no opportunity to ask questions of the professor on television was sometimes voiced. Among those voicing this reaction, some also pointed out that they rarely or ever ask questions in face-to-face class situations. Others expressed their reactions to their inability to ask questions over television as one of the blessings of the medium--its prevention of a few students monopolizing the class session with questions which interrupt or divert the flow of information.

The problem of feedback, knowledge of results or reinforcement of learning--whichever term is preferred--was evident in the reactions of many course enrollees, and absent in the reactions of most of the viewers. For enrollees, performance standards are set by the professors and by established university procedures. Viewers, on the other hand, are free to set their own performance standards and to evaluate their own progress. When the professors teaching on Television Seminar provide feedback, through periodic tests, by commenting on and promptly returning written assignments, or by other means, student anxiety as to the outcome of their enrollment for college credit tends to be inarticulate. When the course grade depends entirely on a final examination and few cues are given on current performance in the course, or on the nature of the final examination, enrollees tend to articulate their anxiety.

Some of the audience reactions identified and discussed above can be documented with quantitative data in which some statistically

significant differences are found among categories of the audience. However, the quantitative approach among categories of the audience was deliberately discarded in the later stages of this research and emphasis was shifted to the attempt to identify more specifically the common and differential patterns of audience response. Such patterns have been described in the form of highly tentative statements.

These, and the foregoing statements of audience characteristics, are hypotheses which this exploratory study was intended to generate. At least some of them warrant continued study with research instruments designed to yield supporting data and to provide further elucidation. Meanwhile, these statements, inferred from initial observations, may be useful in theory construction and in the intensely practical affairs of the infancy of educational television on the college level.

II. THE COURSE AT DAWN

Among the several shapes and hues of television in education, one of the significant social developments in the "vast wasteland" of commercial television is the early-morning college credit course.

This research study is concerned with one such development-- Television Seminar, presented 6:30 - 7:00 a.m. by WCAU-TV, Philadelphia, in cooperation with the College of General Studies of the University of Pennsylvania. The central problem is that of attempting to identify some of the determinants of audience formation and reaction to early-morning televised courses for college credit. As previously indicated, the concept of determinants is stated to include characteristics of the audiences and the courses associated with the reactions to the courses.

Television Seminar was undertaken in the Fall of 1959 by the University of Pennsylvania as an innovation in adult education and in public service television programming. Two courses have since been televised weekly during each semester of the academic year, and one course is re-broadcast each summer. All courses are on the undergraduate level, taught by full-time faculty members of the University's College of Arts and Sciences. The College of General Studies which offers these courses is, in effect, the evening division of the University's College of Arts and Sciences.

For the most part, the innovational nature of these courses involves (a) the medium of television in which the picture replaces the person of the instructor, (b) half-hour units of television instruction

in place of the 50-minute units of classroom instruction, (c) the isolated individual facing the TV set at home in place of a social assembly confronting the instructor face-to-face, (d) reduction, sometimes to the point of elimination, of the opportunity to engage in the interaction of discussion, (e) mail-order logistics of textbooks in place of the on-campus book store and library, and (f) an audience composed predominantly of adults who, for a variety of reasons, have no commitment to the academic accounting system of course credits nor to the requirements of this system, including term papers, and examinations.

In all these respects, Television Seminar is typical of the Continental Classroom of NBC-TV and College of the Air of CBS-TV. It differs from these network instructional television programs in that it is broadcast locally rather than nationally as a public service by the CBS-owned commercial station, WCAU-TV, and by the University of Pennsylvania. It receives no financial subsidy from any foundation, or group of corporation sponsors. It is largely community affair--an affair of the metropolitan complex of the Delaware Valley, spreading from southeastern Pennsylvania to the coastline of New Jersey and across the northern arc of Delaware. As such, it has the vigor and endurance attached to community effort, much like the Sunrise Semester of New York University.

Early-morning college credit courses, telecast by commercial networks and local stations, developed within a relatively few years into an established pattern of educational broadcasting. In the academic year, 1961-62, for example, approximately 250 commercial stations of the NBC and CBS networks telecast Continental Classroom and College of

the Air courses, respectively, between the hours of 6:00 and 7:00 a.m. Over 375 colleges and universities across the country gave college credit for these televised courses under requirements and conditions specified by the individual institutions. Both these network programs were discontinued at the close of the 1962-63 season.

It is difficult to predict whether the educational television stations spreading across the face of the nation will entirely take over the function of telecasting college courses to those who would take them for credit or to those who disregard the credit system and view the course purely for intellectual nourishment and social satisfactions.

Soon all television sets will be manufactured so as to receive UHF as well as VHF frequencies. This will permit, among other things, a scheduling of courses on non-commercial TV stations at hours other than 6:00 - 7:00 a.m. For many, this early-morning hour is made for sleep, and the call of the Angelus to prayer and work is muted by foam rubber pillows of the middle class. Yet, it is questionable whether change of scheduled hour of broadcast will, in itself, significantly change the character of the audience for televised college courses or lead to increase in audience size by significant orders of magnitude.

The "Fourth Network" Audience

Regardless of the nature of the television network--commercial or non-commercial, national or regional, such televised courses are unlikely to attract a massive audience. Not everyone wants continuing education. For those who do, there are many other alternatives to television.

Several studies of audiences of educational stations and of

educational programs on commercial stations indicate that the audience is highly selective and socially stratified. It differs from the general TV viewing population in interests, activities, values, occupations, income, and educational background. Audiences for early-morning college credit courses are a distinct class of this audience. Unlike the audiences of educational television stations, they must perforce commit themselves to regular viewing of one or two courses several mornings a week for an entire semester if they are to obtain full or fair value.

College courses are generally organized on the building-block principle--lecture upon lecture, assignment upon assignment, week upon week. They do not lend themselves to television viewing in the flexible pattern of book, magazine, or newspaper reading, or of patronage of the theatre and concert season on an occasional evening of aesthetic experience and the social pleasure of being seen in black tie or carefully casual or startling gown. The building-block principal of organization restricts the size of the audience. It requires sustained effort focussed on a specific type of intellectual content and context.

The Significance of TV College Courses

The significance of televised college credit courses such as those of Television Seminar lies in a tendency to reflect and reinforce three trends in what is often called "adult" or "continuing" education, especially at the college level.

For one thing, the number of part-time students attending colleges and universities throughout the country is increasing. Those who enroll for credit in the College of General Studies are generally

part-time students. They work or keep house in the daytime and attend courses on the campus in the evening and on Saturday mornings.

In a traditional Eastern university, such as the University of Pennsylvania, part-time students are no novelty. They have been around a long time. The chances are they will be around a long time to come, and that they will increase in number.

Television Seminar constitutes a deliberate extension of service to part-time students. Furthermore, in contrast to the prevailing preference of adults for vocational or otherwise "useful" courses, Television Seminar offers the "liberal arts" and concentrates heavily on the humanities and the social sciences.

A second national trend in higher education is the increasing number of women attending colleges and universities. Among the older Eastern universities, women have been tolerated and administratively segregated. When admitted at all, they have, until recently, been enrolled in a "college for women" within the university. Such "colleges for women" have had their own proud separate-but-equal tradition. With few exceptions, their enrollment is small in comparison with that of the "colleges for men".

This situation is reversed in Television Seminar. More women than men regularly enroll in the Television Seminar courses. This enrollment in the televised courses reflects the enrollment in the co-educational College of General Studies as a whole--more than half of the enrollees in any given semester are women.

The third national trend is the increasing number of people who take courses of one kind or another without any regard for formal credit.

Such people constitute the overwhelming majority of the Television Seminar audience. For every student enrolled for credit during a given semester, probably 150-200, view the courses regularly but do not enroll for college credit.

Whatever the exact ratio between course enrollees and regular viewers may be, Television Seminar provides a new form of opportunity for people to continue their education. They disregard the academic credit system, presumably in the interest satisfying intellectual curiosity and increasing understanding and appreciation of the political and cultural heritage. These broad objectives are the ones most frequently rated by enrollees and viewers alike. They are discussed in Chapter VIII, dealing with objectives, satisfactions, and reactions of the audience to Television Seminar.

III. THE PROBLEM AND RESEARCH DESIGN

The basic problem investigated in this study is that of the determinants of the formation and reaction of the audience for Television Seminar. The approach to this problem was exploratory. The intent was to generate insights on the basis of the observed behavior of the audience.

One of the first tasks of audience research of this sort is to classify the audience in terms of the way various members of the audience behave with reference to the programs on which the study is focussed. This involves a distinction of "audiences" with "the audience". Classes of the audience consist of those who enroll for credit in Television Seminar courses, and those who view the courses regularly but do not enroll. In addition, there is a third group which expressed interest in enrolling or viewing, but for one reason or another decided neither to enroll nor view the programs regularly.

At one extreme are the men and women who meet full requirements for course credit, including course examinations, and at the other are those who express interest but do not convert this interest into action. Sometimes this interest is largely curiosity, but in more cases it is more genuine interest. It involves some kind of initial intent to enroll or view regularly provided conditions prove favorable and dispositions prove strong. Some of the processes of decision are discussed in Chapter VII.

Viewers differ in their behavior not only from enrollees but also among themselves. Some subscribe to course syllabi, at a more or less

nominal price. Course syllabi consist of outlines of topic covered, and reading lists. They vary in detail of outline according to the professor who prepares them. They indicate the organization--some-what as does a detailed table of contents--both of the courses and of the individual lectures. Some syllabus subscribers conscientiously do some or all of the suggested reading, but many others either are highly selective among reading assignments or ignore them completely. Interviews indicate that most of the syllabus subscribers use the outlines as organizing aids, consulted before or after the day-to-day televised lectures.

Another class of viewers of the Television Seminar courses attends the courses regularly, but otherwise remain completely out of communication with the University. These are referred to throughout this report as the silent viewers.

The third group of viewers is classified as the responding viewers. When an on-the-air request for letters or postcards from viewers was made by the professors teaching the courses in the Spring, 1961 term, they responded promptly. Over 800 such letters and postcards were received within a few days after the on-the-air request from approximately 700 viewers. To say that the postcards and letters received conveyed enthusiastic and appreciative messages, if anything, is an understatement.

These, then, are the audience classes: the course enrollees, the syllabus subscribers, the silent viewers, and the responding viewers. The other class of people with which this study is concerned is the interested non-viewers. In a sense, the interested non-viewer is the

potential viewer, although, in fact, the reasons these non-viewers give for not viewing indicate they are unlikely to become actual viewers, at least not so on a regular basis. In this study, the interested non-viewers serve as a "control group", with which characteristics of the actual audiences are compared.

Audience Size

All projections of audience size are risky. Recent Senate investigation of the methods used by television rating services have demonstrated the absurdity of some of the projections used by networks and advertisers in making program decisions.

A reasonable method of projection of the size of the Television Seminar audience is to assume that 10 percent of the viewers wrote postcards or letters as requested. This assumption is optimistic. But, to remain in the conservative side, the 10 percent response is assumed. This yields a projection of 7,000 viewers per semester. Assuming an overlap of 10 percent of the viewers in consecutive semesters, this leads to an estimate of 13,300 viewers during the two semesters of the academic year. Cutting the estimate for the summer re-broadcast of one program to one-half that of a regular semester, this adds 3,500 more individual viewers, and accumulates a projected estimate of 16,800 individual viewers a year, give or take a thousand or so.

This estimate, for what it is worth, approaches the annual student enrollment of the entire University. It is, nevertheless, an estimate. As such, it is believed to be highly conservative, even for a 6:30 a.m. program of college courses.

What Needs to be Known

Presumably, the Television Seminar audience will differ from the general population in education, income, cultural activities and such like. The basic problem is whether in these and similar respects, the audience differs internally in terms of the patterns of participation, i.e., in terms of the available options of Television Seminar, to enroll, to view, or to be interested but not active in either. There was no firm basis for prediction.

It could be predicted with equal probability that enrollees are less, about the same, or better educated than viewers or non-viewers, that they are younger or older, better or less well-off economically, etc. Common sense indicates a difference but only the facts or at least some facts, increase certainty on the direction and degree of difference. Hence, some facts are needed.

Information is also needed on patterns of various behaviors of audiences of enrollees and viewers, and of the interested non-viewers. This includes sources of information on Television Seminar and its options; the pattern of course attendance by enrollees and viewers; the processes and criteria of decision of enrollees, the viewers, and the interested non-viewers; the attitudes of the various categories of the audience toward the convenience and inconvenience of early-morning televised courses; the responses to the personalities, mannerisms and presentational methods of the television professors; etc.

Beyond these response patterns of the audience lies the problem of motivation of the audience. Presumably, enrollees will state the

purpose of their enrollment for credit in the Television Seminar courses as that of earning college credits, but other objectives are also likely to exist for enrollees as well as for viewers and interested non-viewers. Motivations can be inferred from the satisfactions expressed by the audience, from what they say about how they feel toward themselves and how others feel toward them. Such satisfactions are often expressed in very personal terms, in terms of human values and needs, of ambitions, and of social and intellectual fulfillment.

It is with these broad areas of civilized life in a complex social organization that insights are sought in this study of the meaning of Television Seminar to those who are interested and to those who participate in it.

Sources of Data

Data on the pattern of attendance were available on all course enrollees and all syllabus subscribers in the office of the College of General Studies. Grades of all course enrollees and their distribution for each course were also available, as was information as to whether enrollees in Television Seminar courses had previously, currently, or subsequently been enrolled in on-campus courses in the College of General Studies, and whether or not they were degree candidates. Thus, for course enrollees and syllabus subscribers, complete records were available from the inception of Television Seminar up to the present.

To obtain the other kinds of information necessary to insight on the social dynamics operative in audience formation and response, a depth interview schedule was developed. As with so many other things

in life, substantial revision in this interview schedule could now be made in light of the information derived from analyzing results. For one thing, the interview schedule would have been greatly shortened. Some different questions would be included and many of those included would be eliminated. On the whole, however, the schedule proved very satisfactory for the general purpose of this research.

The interview schedule included open-ended questions which were probed during the interview; informational questions on socio-economic variables, media habits, cultural activities, etc.; rating scales on personality traits and objectives; factual questions on social, cultural and media habits, informational items on normal time of rising and retiring; general questions on parental attitudes toward education; specific questions on sources of information on Television Seminar; etc. It was thought better to collect too much rather than too little information, but this was not an unmixed blessing, since information requires disposition and limbo is not entirely satisfactory as a disposal unit.

The interviews lasted approximately two hours. Some were completed in slightly more than an hour and others in roughly two and one-half hours. Relatively few people declined to be interviewed, and relatively few evaded them after consenting and setting a time for the interview.

Interviewers were, for the most part, experienced in depth interviewing. Some were better interviewers than others. Only occasionally did an interviewer view his task as a remunerative job to be done perfunctorily and with indifferent dispatch.

The sampling problem was not adaptable to classical methods. It was feasible to interview only those living within a radius approximately 15 miles of down-town Philadelphia. This limited the universe from which samples could be drawn. Interviewing was done in the late Spring and during the Fall of 1961. The number of enrollees to be interviewed was limited to those taking courses during the Spring and Fall of 1961, and to those living with a 15-mile radius of down-town Philadelphia. Those enrollees interviewed during the Spring who also enrolled in Fall courses were also eliminated. These limitations applied also to the universe syllabus subscribers, silent and responding viewers, and interested non-viewers.

Silent viewers and interested non-viewers were gleaned from a list of approximately 1,200 people who had answered newspaper advertisements indicating interest in Television Seminar courses and requesting additional information on these courses. Very few interested non-viewers were discovered among the responding viewers or syllabus subscribers, i.e., relatively few of those who indicated the fact of their viewing by letter or postcard, or purchased course syllabi, were found to view the courses so infrequently as to be classified as non-viewers. The criterion of such a classification was the viewing of only 10 or fewer programs during the semester. One such case comes to mind. A married couple, college educated, rented a television set in order to view the programs. For what may be presumed to be a variety of reasons, they returned the rented set within a month. Among other things, the hour of broadcast entered into the decision. This and other factors in decision are discussed in Chapter VII.

A combination of stratified, area, and quota sampling was employed. One hundred and eighty seven people were actually interviewed among the Spring and Fall enrollees, syllabus subscribers, silent and responding viewers, and interested non-viewers.

The available universe for each category of the audience, the number of people in each category interviewed, and the percentage included in each sample is shown in Table 1, below.

TABLE 1. AVAILABLE UNIVERSE AND SAMPLE

<u>Audience</u>	<u>Available Universe</u>	<u>Sample</u>	<u>Percent of Sample</u>
<u>Enrollees</u>			
Spring 1961	39	24	62 %
Fall 1961	29	19	66
<u>Viewers</u>			
Syll. Sub.	148	39	26
Silent	263	23	09
Responding	292	40	14
<u>Interested Non-Viewers</u>			
	263	42	16

For purposes of analysis, enrollees in the Spring and Fall semesters were treated as distinct groups of enrollees. Because of area limitations, enrollment limitations, and elimination from the universe of those who had been interviewed the preceding semesters, the universe was greatly reduced and the sample of Fall enrollees was not entirely representative of the group as a whole. In the sample, only two were males. Among those enrolled in the Fall, 12 out of 42 (30%)

were males. This bias was unavoidable under sampling limitations.

Many of the syllabus subscribers were also interviewed during the Fall but it was not necessary to classify them separately, since there was little evidence of bias nor were significant differences observed among the characteristics or response patterns of Spring and Fall syllabus subscribers, when response patterns of Spring and Fall samples were compared.

It will be noted in Table 1, above, that the available universe is the same for both silent viewers and interested non-viewers. The silent viewers and the interested non-viewers were drawn from the list of people who had inquired about the Television Seminar courses but did not enroll, subscribe to course syllabi, or indicate in correspondence that they were viewing the courses.

The inherent difficulties of the stratified, area, and quota sampling procedure in this study impose restrictions on the representativeness of the samples especially of the Fall enrollees and of the silent viewers and non-viewers. The most severe restriction is on the silent viewers. They represent the largest segment of the estimated audience, only 23 were interviewed. The absolute size of the interested non-viewing group is also extremely large, and 42 were interviewed. These restrictions must be lived with. In view of the exploratory nature and the generative purpose of this study, they are tolerable.

Analytical Methods

Free responses to general questions in the interview were coded. Differences in coded responses among audience categories were tested

for statistical significance by use of Chi-square. Most of the scalable responses were tested for significance of differences by use of the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test of differences in stochastic values of two samples. Non-scalable responses were tested for significance of differences by standard Chi-square procedures. A statistically significant difference between categories of the audience on any given response was interpreted as important if there was a compelling pattern among several categories of the audience. If, for example, the silent viewers differed significantly from several other categories on a given attribute or response, this compelling pattern was regarded as important, whereas a significant difference between one pair of categories only was not interpreted as a compelling difference. In the analysis of the quantitative data, the number of such important differences among audience categories was not impressive. In an exploratory study, it is not expected that there would be.

In many instances, quantifications of coded responses, once they had been made and tested, were disregarded in favor of more direct search in the interview responses for trends and patterns that could be identified. This was the case in dealing with responses to the courses and to the manner of course presentation. It was also the case in attempting to identify and describe some of the processes and criteria of decision.

When only statistic methods of analysis are used, particularly in an exploratory study such as this, human behavior is reduced to a series of abstractions and to intersects of axes of attributes and classes of response. The idiosyncracies of personal response are lost, and interactions of human beings with their environment are described as a series

of associations between categories of attributes and of responses. In the name of ordering and illuminating the behavior of people, the people are abandoned. Wherever possible and feasible, this was minimized if not completely avoided in the preparation of this report.

IV. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

From various studies of the audiences of educational television stations, it may be anticipated that the audience of Television Seminar were also drawn largely from families of higher occupational prestige and income, that a high percentage will have attended college, and that some will be advancing in years toward and beyond the wide span of middle age. In the United States, people don't grow old--they achieve seniority.

The problem here is to attempt to determine, first, whether these expectations are, in fact, the case with the Television Seminar; second, whether variations among classes of the audience exist; and third, if so, whether such variations are or appear to be related to enrollment, viewing, and the non-viewing of those who express interest in the courses.

This is a dull but necessary part of the study. To relieve some of the tedium of description, numerical data are highly condensed. Interpretation of the data represented in the tables is held to a minimum, and the reader is invited to study the data, and draw his own inferences. As Marshall McLuhan has pointed out in another context, such a technique makes the reader a co-author.

All data on social characteristics of the Television Seminar audience(s) are taken from the depth interviews of course enrollees, viewers, and interested non-viewers, and are thus subject to sampling limitations. Also, all "conclusions" are based on associative relation-

ships among the data which suggest but do not establish a causative relationship.

Occupation of Head of the Household

When the occupational status of head of the household is analyzed we find that a high percentage of audience comes from families in which the principal wage-earner belongs to the professional-executive class and a low percentage from the family of blue collar workers. The details are shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2. OCCUPATION OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD

<u>Audience</u>	<u>Occupational Classes</u>			
	<u>Blue Collar</u>	<u>White Collar</u>	<u>Prof. Exec.</u>	<u>Retired, etc.</u>
<u>Enrollees</u>				
Spring 1961 (24)	00 %	33 %	50 %	17 %
Fall 1961 (19)	00	32	63	05
Total (43)	00 %	33 %	56 %	12 %
<u>Viewers</u>				
Syll. Sub. (39)	03	41	46	10
Silent (23)	17	22	57	04
Responding (40)	30	23	40	08
Total (102)	17	29	46	08
<u>Interested Non-Viewers</u>	17	24	48	12

Among all categories, the percentage in the highest level of occupational status (managers, artists, doctors, lawyers, etc.) varies between 40 and 63 percent. Notice that none of the interviewed enrollees in the Spring and Fall courses came from "blue collar" families.

i.e., the families of the unskilled, semi-skilled, and skilled workers. Notice, too, that the percentage from such families tends to increase among the different categories of viewers, and how this increase is accompanied by a corresponding decrease in percentage of "white collar" families. Notice also that the percentage of silent viewers and of interested non-viewers in blue-collar families is identical. This particular relationship may be a coincidence, but intriguing is the fact that both share a silence in response to the courses.

The data in Table 2 strongly suggest that televised courses have, at best, only slight appeal to members of "blue collar" families either to enroll for credit or to purchase course syllabi. The data also strongly suggest that these courses have very limited appeal to any other form of participation, including simply the expression of interest, among families in the lower levels of occupational prestige. (It is noted here that occupational prestige does not estrange anyone from useful service to society.)

If you agree with the above inferences, you are also likely to agree with the suggestion that occupational status operates as a determinant in the formation of the Television Seminar audience in that, on the higher levels, it encourages interest and participation in the televised courses, and on the lowest level, it virtually excludes both course enrollment and purchase of course syllabi as organizing aids to viewing. While these suggestions are stated in terms which imply causation, the relationships between occupational status and audience behavior are, in fact, associative only.

Formal Education

Since occupational status correlates with the amount of education, it is to be expected that the picture of the educational background of the Television Seminar audience will resemble that of family occupational status. In general, this turns out as expected. The majority in all categories of the audience, including the non-viewers, had completed at least one year of college. Some of the details of this pattern are shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3. YEARS OF COLLEGE COMPLETED BY AUDIENCE CATEGORIES

<u>Audience</u>	<u>Less Than One Year</u>	<u>One/Two Years</u>	<u>Three/Four Years</u>	<u>Beyond Four Years</u>
<u>Enrollees</u>				
Spring 1961 (24)	17 %	42 %	25 %	17 %
Fall 1961 (19)	28	33	33	06
Total (43)	21 %	38 %	29 %	12 %
<u>Viewers</u>				
Syll. Sub. (39)	28	21	26	23
Silent (23)	35	26	26	13
Responding (40)	45	10	20	25
Total (102)	36	18	24	22
<u>Interested</u>				
<u>Non-Viewers</u> (42)	40	21	26	12

By examining Table 3, it can be seen that approximately 80 percent total sample of course enrollees had completed more than one year of college. This clearly indicates that relatively few of those who enroll for credit in Television Seminar courses do so in the initial stages of their program of college education. The fact that the courses offered are elective may influence this pattern but it also seems likely

that a year or so of on-campus apprenticeship may be regarded as a necessary prerequisite to the rigors and impersonality of televised courses. Possibly both factors operate. A more detailed study of the enrollees, to be made after completion of this more general study, may shed more light on this.

Another fact of interest is that among enrollees, viewers and interested non-viewers, taken as classes, at least 12 percent have had some post-college education. Unlike occupational status, advanced education appears neither to inhibit nor to encourage interest or participation in Television Seminar courses.

Look back over Table 3, again, and see if you agree that at least one year of college is a normative prerequisite of both interest and participation in Television Seminar courses and that it tends to be more so for enrollees than for the viewers or interested non-viewers.

Age of Audience

The most impressive statistic on the age of the audience of Television Seminar is its range. Among the samples of the audience interviewed in this study, the range in age was from 16 to 77--a span of 61 years. The age range of the actual audience is even greater than this. Letters were received from viewers varying in age from 12 to 80.

Table 4 shows the range in age by audience category of all those interviewed in this study.

TABLE 4. RANGE IN AGES OF AUDIENCE CATEGORIES

<u>Audience</u>	<u>Range in Age</u>
<u>Enrollees</u>	
Spring 1961 (24)	20-55
Fall 1961 (19)	17-62
<u>Viewers</u>	
Syll. Sub. (38)	17-77
Silent (23)	16-70
Responding (39)	30-72
<u>Interested Non-Viewers (41)</u>	16-62

Here you see that the age range was similar for enrollees and interested non-viewers, and that only the interviewed viewers of all categories included people in the early and late 70's. Some viewers were like the Roman, who at an advanced age, decided to study geometry. Criticized for such a thing at his age, he asked whether his critics could think of a better time for him.

Distribution of age within major brackets is shown in Table 5. A consistent pattern of statistically significant differences ($p \leq .05$) in age distribution was found between the responding viewers and all other categories of the audience except the enrollees in the Fall 1961 semester. Statistically significant differences were also found between the syllabus subscribers and both the Spring enrollees and the interested non-viewers. Among the sample of those who took the trouble to write to the University as requested, none was under 30 and nearly half were 50 years or older. It is difficult to attach importance to the difference in age distribution between the syllabus subscribers and the Spring term

enrollees and the interested non-viewers. For practical purposes, the differences are not compelling, and may as well be disregarded.

We come back to where we started in the discussion of the age of the Television Seminar audiences; the most significant facts are that the age range is very great, and that the most extreme range in advanced age is found among the viewers, rather than among enrollees and interested non-viewers. All categories of the audience are or appear to be alike in that they vary greatly in age. From this, it is clearly suggested that, within wide and reasonable limits, age is not a determinant of formation of the Television Seminar audience.

TABLE 5. DISTRIBUTION OF AGE AMONG AUDIENCE CATEGORIES

<u>Audience</u>	<u>Age Brackets</u>		
	<u>Under 30</u>	<u>30-49</u>	<u>50/Over</u>
<u>Enrollees</u>			
Spring 1961 (24)	58 %	25 %	17 %
Fall 1961 (19)	21	58	21
Total (43)	42	40	19
<u>Viewers</u>			
Syll. Sub. (38)	24	39	37
Silent (23)	30	52	17
Responding (39)	00	54	46
Total (100)	16	48	36
<u>Interested</u>			
<u>Non-Viewers</u> (41)	32	59	10

Family Income

In family income, both the actual audience and the interested non-viewers were much better off than the average family in the metropolitan area of which Philadelphia is the urban center. This could have been predicted from the data on occupational status, but it is nice to have some facts to confirm the prediction.

In family income, as in age, the range was very great. Family income, as everybody knows, is the total income of all wages or salaries of all members of the household. Rather surprising was the finding that the higher family incomes were generally produced by the father, without an assist from wife or children. However, family income about \$20,000 is much more the exception than the rule. Only seven out of the 160 who reported family income in interviews were in this family income bracket.

The one-income family characteristic of the Television Seminar audience including those who only manifest interest, is an index to the adherence of the Television Seminar audience to traditional patterns of family organization. This characteristic will be explored further when religious identification and marital stability are examined.

The range in family income is shown in Table 6. It is evident that some family incomes are quite comfortable, although with taxes, etc. gross incomes are deceptive. Along the line previously pursued, it is interesting that in 70 percent of the interviewed cases, one person only contributed to the family income. Rarely did more than two members of the family contribute to the family income.

Another way of looking at family income is the proportions under and over \$7,500. Here the "above average" picture of the Tele-

vision Seminar audience emerges, including that of the interested non-viewers. The median family income in the Philadelphia metropolitan suburban area was reported to be \$6,433 in the 1960 census.

TABLE 6. RANGE OF FAMILY INCOME

<u>Audience</u>	<u>Range</u>
<u>Enrollees</u>	
Spring 1961 (20)	\$2,000-19,000
Fall 1961 (15)	5,000-20,000
<u>Viewers</u>	
Syll. Sub. (34)	1,000-30,000
Silent (20)	5,000-20,000
Responding (35)	1,800-20,000
<u>Interested</u>	
<u>Non-Viewers</u> (33)	1,500-30,000

It will be noted from Table 7 that in every category, at least 55 percent, and more frequently a much higher percentage, reported family incomes of \$7,500 or above. When enrollees, viewers, and non-viewers are considered as classes, between 66 and 71 percent report family incomes higher than \$7,500.

None of the differences in distribution of family income among various categories of the audience is statistically significant. Statistically, the participants and the non-participants are alike in the fact that they differ widely in family income.

The reader may have little difficulty in concluding from association that a family income, derived from one or two contributors, of \$7,500 and above tends to encourage both interest and participation in Television Seminar and a lower income tends to reduce both interest

and participation. To oversimplify and overstate the situation, it seems as if people tend to act toward Television Seminar courses the way family income, and what goes with it, dictates.

TABLE 7. DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY INCOMES

<u>Audience</u>	<u>Income</u>	
	<u>Under \$7,500</u>	<u>Over \$7,500</u>
<u>Enrollees</u>		
Spring 1961 (20)	45 %	55 %
Fall 1961 (15)	20	80
Total (35)	34 %	66 %
<u>Viewers</u>		
Syll. Sub. (34)	32	68
Silent (21)	15	85
Responding (33)	33	67
Total (87)	29	71
<u>Interested</u>		
<u>Non-Viewers</u> (33)	32	68

Identification with Religion

Data on religious identification are condensed in Table 8. Broad classifications are difficult. To avoid difficulties as much as possible, the classification of "other" is used to include the Eastern Orthodox, Unitarian, and other churches not readily classifiable as Catholic, Protestant, or Jewish. Those who disclaim interest in formal religions of any kind, or who disavow it militantly, are classified as "Agnostic". No value judgement is implied in this attempt to reduce enormous diversity to a few general classes of major religious identity.

The resulting distribution of identification and non-identification with major religious communions is shown in Table 8.

TABLE 8. RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION OF AUDIENCE

<u>Audience</u>	<u>Classes of Religious Identification or None</u>				
	<u>Agnostic</u>	<u>Catholic</u>	<u>Protestant</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Other</u>
<u>Enrollees</u>					
Spring 1961 (23)	04 %	26 %	44 %	25 %	00 %
Fall 1961 (19)	00	11	53	16	11
Total (42)	02 %	19 %	52 %	21 %	05 %
<u>Viewers</u>					
Syll. Sub. (33)	08	18	44	18	13
Silent (23)	00	43	39	13	04
Responding (39)	13	10	67	05	05
Total (101)	08	21	52	12	08
<u>Interested</u>					
<u>Non-Viewers</u> (33)	10	38	28	23	00

The one inescapable fact in Table 8 is that at least 87 percent in each category and subcategory of the audience positively identifies with a religious communion, and that the percentage identifying themselves as openly uncertain about or antagonistic toward religion varies from zero to thirteen percent.

Those identifying themselves as Protestant are very slightly in the majority of enrollees and viewers, and are excelled in proportions by Catholics among non-viewers. Tests of significance of differences of major religious identification among the various subcategories of the audience show no consistent or compelling pattern.

People who identify themselves as Protestant constitute the highest proportion of all audience categories and subcategories except

two: the silent viewers and the interested non-viewers. In these latter cases, those identifying themselves as Catholics are in highest proportions, a finding which leaves something or everything to be explained.

However, the overall relationship between religious identification and both interest and participation in Television Seminar seems clear enough. The pattern is positive and diverse. Whatever the form of participation, the audience is basically homogeneous in the heterogeneity of its religious identification, and overwhelmingly positive in identification with a religious communion. This relationship between religious identification and social class is mentioned in Chapter V in connection with organizational membership.

Marital Status

With the exception of the Spring enrollees, among whom the proportions are equal, the majority of men and women in all categories and subcategories of the audience is married. This single state of the Spring enrollees correlates with their youth.

As indicated in Table 9, death touched the marriages of only a small percentage of the audience.

The marriage state of all categories of the audience is highly stable. Either none or a relative few of the marriages ended in the divorce court. The stability of marriage, the positive identification with religion, and the single source of family income contribute to the picture of the Television Seminar audience as embodying social characteristics long held to be virtuous and stable influences in the social fabric. If the audience is not impressive in numbers it is

impressive in its external marks of goodness.

TABLE 9. MARITAL STATUS AND STABILITY

<u>Audience</u>	<u>Marital Status</u>			
	<u>Single</u>	<u>Married</u>	<u>Widowed</u>	<u>Divorced</u>
<u>Enrollees</u>				
Spring 1961 (24)	46 %	46 %	08 %	00 %
Fall 1961 (19)	16	63	16	05
Total (43)	33 %	53 %	11 %	02 %
<u>Viewers</u>				
Syll. Sub. (37)	35	62	03	00
Silent (23)	30	70	00	00
Responding (40)	20	70	05	05
Total (100)	28	67	03	02
<u>Interested</u>				
<u>Non-Viewers</u> (42)	33	60	02	05

Remarks

As expected from studies of the audience of educational television audience, both the participants and non-participants in Television Seminar are found, in sample interviews, to be drawn mainly from families in the higher strata of occupations and family income. None of the enrollees and a trivial few of the syllabus subscribers were members of families of "blue collar" workers. In no sub-class of viewers were more than 30 percent members of families in the occupational categories of unskilled, semi-skilled, or skilled workers.

In education and family income, the participants and non-participants are drawn from the higher strata. All categories of the audience show a great range in age. Most are married. When married,

they stay married. In overwhelming proportions, members of all categories of the audience are positive rather than negative in identification with a religious communion.

Beyond reasonable doubt, the audience of Television Seminar is drawn predominantly from the middle and upper-middle social classes. It may be argued that members of the lower middle and of the various lower sub-strata are accustomed to the example of going to work at or before 6:30 a.m., and, hence, to be up and about the business of making a living at that hour. This argument, while perhaps valid, seems too simple and too singular to explain why those interested and those who participated did so.

Instead, it seems more probable that the value system of the middle and upper-middle social classes predisposes toward continuing education on the college level, even at 6:30 a.m. The value system of the lower social classes either does not or does so with much less intensity. This predisposition appears to undergird both interest and participation to Television Seminar courses.

All this is inferential. A basis for inference of this kind is found in the interview data of this study, in studies of the audience of educational television studies, and in numerous studies of attitudes and behavior patterns of social classes. One of the distressing characteristics of the less privileged and less affluent groups in American society is lack of educational motivation, and nowhere does this seem more tragic than in the long delayed Negro revolt for equality of job opportunities, many of which require high levels of education and training.

V. CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

The degree to which people involve themselves in various cultural activities is sometimes associated with class status, i.e., with income, education, occupation, etc. The problem here is whether the various categories of the audience differ in the degree of involvement and kind of cultural activities, and whether, on the whole, the audience tends to be active or inactive in these pursuits.

Reading Activities

The reading habits of the Television Seminar audience and of interested non-viewers is shown in Table 10--how many newspapers and magazines they read regularly and how many books, on the average, they read a month.

True to the publisher's slogan, nearly everyone (82 percent of those interviewed) reads The Evening Bulletin. Next in order of frequency is The Philadelphia Inquirer and after that either the daily or Sunday editions of The New York Times. The Christian Science Monitor and The Wall Street Journal run a poor fourth (read by five percent of the interviewees) and fifth (three percent) respectively.

It is not surprising that the Bulletin and Inquirer, both of which have high circulation, topped the list of newspapers regularly read, but the fact that 43 percent of those interviewed regularly read The New York Times suggests that the orientation of the Television Seminar audience is cosmopolitan in its informational interests and activities.

Among the various audience categories, the percentages reading the three leading newspapers varied little, indicating the same characteristic of homogeneity noted in the various socio-economic indices discussed in the preceding chapter.

TABLE 10. READING ACTIVITIES OF THE AUDIENCE

<u>Audience</u>	<u>Newspapers</u>		<u>Magazines</u>		<u>Books/Month</u>	
	<u>One Only</u>	<u>Two/ More</u>	<u>Four/ Less</u>	<u>Five/ More</u>	<u>One/ Less</u>	<u>Two/ More</u>
<u>Enrollees</u>						
Spring 1961 (24)	42 %	58 %	84 %	16 %	75 %	25 %
Fall 1961 (17)	06	94	79	21	100	00
Total (41)	27 %	73 %	81 %	19 %	86 %	14 %
<u>Viewers</u>						
Syll. Sub. (39)	31	69	77	23	69	31
Silent (23)	22	78	61	39	78	22
Responding (40)	13	87	50	50	60	40
Total (102)	22	78	63	37	68	32
<u>Interested Non-Viewers (42)</u>						
	19	81	57	43	62	38

Notice in Table 10, that a majority of all categories of the audience reads two or more newspapers regularly. There is a tendency for both interested non-viewers and viewers who do not subscribe to course syllabi to read more magazines regularly. Course enrollees and subscribers to course syllabi tend to be similar in that only roughly 20 percent read five or more magazines regularly while some 40 or more percent of other viewers and of interested non-viewers are heavy magazine readers. Book reading varies among the categories, with the highest proportion of people reading one or less books per month found among

the course enrollees. Thus it appears that all categories of the audience are similar in their newspaper reading habits. Viewers and interested non-viewers tend to differ from enrollees in that higher proportions read several magazines regularly, and two or more books per month. These are tendencies only, subject to within-group variation that make generalization difficult. Nevertheless, they suggest that viewers and interested non-viewers, i.e., those who do not commit themselves to the reading and other assignments of the Television Seminar courses, tend to acquire information in other ways and from other sources. In sum, these inferences indicate that one of the characteristics of the Television Seminar audience, including the interested non-viewers, is that of active acquisition of information from many sources.

Television Viewing

All those interviewed were asked to name the commercial television programs they regularly watched. From this listing, a rough index of "light" and "heavy" viewing was obtained, as was the order of frequency of the various types of programs watched.

"Light" viewing is defined here as four or less programs regularly watched and "heavy" viewing as five or more. By this standard, a majority of enrollees, viewers, and non-viewers were classified as "light" viewers. Of the enrollees and non-viewers, roughly 70 percent listed four or less television programs watched regularly, and of the viewers, 57 percent did so.

TABLE 11. TV VIEWING HABITS

<u>Audience</u>	<u>Light</u> <u>(0-4)</u>	<u>Heavy</u> <u>(5-n*)</u>
<u>Enrollees</u>		
Spring 1961 (24)	67 %	33 %
Fall 1961 (19)	82	18
Total (43)	73 %	26 %
<u>Viewers</u>		
Syll. Sub. (39)	64	36
Silent (23)	55	45
Responding (40)	48	52
Total (102)	57	43
<u>Interested</u>		
<u>Non-Viewers</u> (42)	71	29

(n* in this table and in the following tables is equivalent to a quantity greater than the number within the parenthesis.)

Clearly, the Television Seminar audience is not addicted to the cultural diet offered on commercial television, judged by the number of favorite programs listed. Only 11 percent of the 187 interviewed included in this tabulation listed eight or more programs as regularly watched and only slightly over two percent listed ten or more.

The types of programs most frequently watched also show a consistent pattern. For the audience as a whole, dramatic programs were mentioned first in order of frequency, and news, comedy and variety and public affairs programs next in order. Thus, commercial television is primarily entertainment and only secondarily a source of news and public affairs for the Television Seminar audience.

The only deviation between classes of viewers in this order

was a minor one. The non-viewers listed variety and comedy in the same proportions as public affairs programs.

The subcategories of enrollees, and of viewers differed among themselves in the order in which these four most frequently mentioned types of programs were regularly watched, but not in the dominant preference of these program types over all other types.

As a matter of interest, only eight percent of the total audience, including non-viewers, listed movies among the programs they watched regularly, and only four people out of 187 interviewed mentioned religious programs. At the time these interviews were conducted, television movies were of ancient vintage and religious programs were generally reserved for morning and early afternoon viewing on Sunday.

Concerts and the Theater

Those interviewed were also asked how many times during the past year they had attended dramatic and musical performances, i.e., plays and musicals. Here, also patronage was "light" rather than "heavy". Less than 40 percent of any audience subcategory was a "heavy" patronizer of dramatic or musical performances, i.e., attended five or more times during the preceding year. No statistically significant differences were found among major audience categories in "light" and "heavy" theatrical attendances.

Attendance at concerts and musical recitals during the year showed a slightly greater patronage. Here the proportions attending five or more were 39 percent for the enrollees, 49 percent for the viewers, 38 percent for the non-viewers.

TABLE 12. CONCERTS AND THEATRICAL ATTENDANCE

<u>Audience</u>	<u>Musical & Drama Performances</u>		<u>Concerts & Recitals</u>	
	<u>Light (0-4)</u>	<u>Heavy (5-n)</u>	<u>Light (0-4)</u>	<u>Heavy (5-n)</u>
<u>Enrollees</u>				
Spring 1961 (24)	75 %	25 %	54 %	46 %
Fall 1961 (16)	76	24	71	29
Total (43)	76 %	24 %	60 %	39 %
<u>Viewers</u>				
Syll. Sub. (39)	64	36	46	54
Silent (23)	70	30	63	38
Responding (40)	78	22	39	61
Total (102)	70	30	51	49
<u>Interested Non-Viewers (42)</u>				
	80	20	62	38

Thus, while attendance of both dramatic and musical performances is more "light" than "heavy", the latter type of performances seem to be preferred over the former by Television Seminar enrollees, viewers, and non-viewers alike.

Joining

The "middle" and "upper middle" classes of American society are said by sociologists to be "joiners". They are likely to belong to a larger number and greater variety of organizations than do those less well educated and employed in less prestigious occupations. In the preceding chapter, the "middle" and "upper middle" class composition of the audience was established on the basis of occupational status, family income and level of education.

The fact of "joining" is evident in the high percentage of

the audience identifying with religious communions. Sociological studies of recent college graduates indicate a high proportion of church membership and a high proportion of attendance of religious services. The social structure acts to encourage and reinforce religious affiliation rather than to discourage it. Similarly, it acts to encourage membership in other social organizations.

Information on membership in other types of organizations was requested in the interviews. All were asked, "Are you, your father, mother, wife or husband a member or officer of any club, society, union, fraternal group, or any other organization, or do you do any community volunteer work?" This was followed by the question, "If YES please give the name of the organization and indicate the highest office in it, if any."

TABLE 13. ORGANIZATION MEMBERSHIP

<u>Audience</u>	<u>Light (0-1)</u>	<u>Heavy (2-n)</u>
<u>Enrollees</u>		
Spring 1961 (24)	71 %	29 %
Fall 1961 (19)	41	59
Total (43)	60 %	40 %
<u>Viewers</u>		
Syll. Sub. (39)	51	49
Silent (23)	65	35
Responding (40)	52	48
Total (102)	56	44
<u>Interested Non-Viewers (42)</u>	55	45

The most relevant information is the number of organizations in which enrollees, viewers and non-viewers listed personal membership. To an extent, at least this indicates a direct, personal involvement. Attendance at dramatic and musical performances also indicates active personal involvement in that people must "go out".

It is clear from Table 13 that neither the participants nor the non-participants in the Television Seminar audience tended predominantly to be "great joiners". Only among the enrollees in the Fall semester of 1961 did more than 50 percent belong to two or more organizations. Organizational membership requires involvement and physical activity in affairs outside the range of the immediate family, the circle of friends, and the home environment. In this respect, it is kin to attending theatrical and musical events. In both these areas of social activity--organizational membership and attendance of cultural events outside the home and the neighborhood, the Television Seminar audience tends to be more moderate or abstemious than highly indulgent.

Socializing

Most people spend time visiting and being visited by friends, relatives, and business associates, and in "going out to do something" with these small primary groups. All those interviewed were asked how many times they engage in these social activities and whether they found them satisfactory. Estimates of time spent were expressed in a variety of ways, and this made intercomparisons impossible or unduly cumbersome. However, satisfactory-unsatisfactory responses could be and were quantified. This response also has the advantage of

indicating the attitudes of the audience toward its social activities.

In comparing attitudes toward their social activities, it should be kept in mind that people tend to balance their activities and their satisfactions with these activities. Imbalance is humanly intolerable.

TABLE 14. ATTITUDES TOWARD SOCIAL ACTIVITIES

<u>Audience</u>	<u>Satisfactory</u>	<u>Unsatisfactory</u>
<u>Enrollees</u>		
Spring 1961 (24)	50 %	29 %
Fall 1961 (19)	56	28
Total (43)	52 %	29 %
<u>Viewers</u>		
Syll. Sub. (39)	77	10
Silent (23)	57	39
Responding (40)	60	30
Total (102)	66	25
<u>Interested</u>		
<u>Non-Viewers</u> (42)	48	29

Not all those interviewed responded in such a way that their attitudes could be coded as satisfactory or unsatisfactory. For this reason, the percentages reported in the rows in Table 14 do not add to 100 percent.

Nearly eight out of ten syllabus subscribers found their social activities satisfactory by their own standards of satisfaction. This proportion is significantly different from that of every other subcategory except that of the Fall semester enrollees. No other audience group expressed this high proportion of satisfaction. All categories of the audience were more satisfied than dissatisfied with their social life among relatives, friends, and acquaintances. Some, of

course, would prefer more such activity and others found their schedules overcrowded and uncomfortable, but, on the whole, the audience appeared to be more happy than unhappy with things as they are.

Self-Image

Self-ratings on nine personality traits were made by all those interviewed. An eight-point scale was used on each of these traits, and each trait was briefly described in behavioral terms at both extremes of the scales. Those interviewed were asked to rate themselves realistically, optimistically, and pessimistically. Only the realistic ratings are analysed here.

One of the purposes of these self-ratings on personality traits was to attempt to relate high and low trait ratings, particularly on traits of self-esteem, to the priority attached to objectives considered most important by the audience. The objectives are discussed in Chapter VIII. Since the basic data and statistical operations involved in these relationships are not available, discussion of personality and motivation is not included in this report.

The traits on which self-rating were made are emotional maturity, individuality, social poise, general culture, self-understanding, understanding others, self-acceptance, popularity and prestige.

The only compelling pattern of differences among the various subcategories of the audience was found in the popularity self-ratings. On no other trait did any subcategory of the audience differ consistently from other subcategories.

The silent viewers rated themselves higher in popularity than did all other audience subcategories other than the Fall enrollees at

the five percent confidence level. These same viewers also differed significantly from at least one other subcategory in higher self-ratings on individuality and social poise. In itself, this is not a compelling pattern of difference, but it adds up to indicate that the silent viewers interviewed in this study are somewhat unique in some aspects of personality structure. This probably cannot be generalized to the large segment of silent viewers in the Television Seminar audience because of the size of the sample.

However, the silent viewers are a deviant group in their behavior toward Television Seminar courses. They did not enroll for credit. They did not subscribe to course syllabi. They did not write postcards or letters as requested on the air indicating the fact of their viewing. They had expressed interest in the courses, as had the non-viewers, and they carried this interest into action as the non-viewers did not. Thus, it might be expected that they would also differ from all these other groups in their self-image. Surprisingly, this difference occurs markedly in their image of their popularity, only. Perhaps, the relatively high percentage of silent viewers expressing dissatisfaction with their social activities (see Table 14) results from frustration of popularity by these activities or by circumstances preventing their desirable exercise. There is no way of knowing from the data available in the study. Nevertheless, the relationship appears to be inconsistent.

Comment

The data from the interviews indicate that the Television Seminar audience is made up of people who do not or are not highly committed to

television viewing, to attending artistic events, or to joining various organizations of one kind or another. There is, in the data on reading activities, the suggestion that viewers and interested non-viewers tend to read more magazines and more books than do the course enrollees, but this remains a suggestion rather than a characteristic.

VI. PATTERN OF ATTENDANCE

Within any semester, enrollees and viewers may attend either one or both courses offered on Television Seminar. Over a period of several semesters, attendance may follow a persistent or highly restricted pattern of attendance, i.e., enrollees and viewers may choose to attend only one or more than one course among the several semesters the program is telecast.

The problem here is to identify the attendance pattern, to attempt to discover whether enrollees and viewers differ in their pattern of attendance, and, if so, to attempt to account for the difference.

Records of participation were maintained in the office of the College of General Studies for each course enrollee, each syllabus subscriber, and each person who either answered a newspaper advertisement to ask for information about the courses, or who wrote a postcard or letter indicating the fact of their attendance in the Spring 1961. From these sources, the attendance pattern of enrollees and syllabus subscribers could be easily determined. By observing the similarity of attendance pattern of the syllabus subscribers in the Spring of 1961 and over several semesters, it was possible to make an educated guess at the probable attendance of pattern of all viewers over a period of several semesters.

Attendance Within a Semester

The pattern of attendance of only one, or of both courses, offered during the Spring semester of 1961, and over five semesters taken-as-a-whole, is shown in Table 15.

TABLE 15. COURSES ATTENDED PER SEMESTER

<u>Audience</u>	<u>Number of Courses Attended</u>	
	<u>One Only</u>	<u>Both</u>
<u>Enrollees</u>		
Spring 1961 (49)	82 %	18 %
Five Semesters (175)	80	20
<u>Syllabus Subscribers</u>		
Spring 1961 (164)	65	35
Five Semesters (535)	70	30
<u>Responding Viewers</u>		
Spring 1961 (665)	62	38

Trends are apparent in this table. For one thing, enrollees, syllabus subscribers, and responding viewers in large majorities attend only one of the two courses offered during a semester. This attendance pattern holds for enrollees and syllabus subscribers both during the Spring semester of 1961 and over a period of five semesters.

Notice that among enrollees, proportions attending one of both courses during the Spring semester and during the five semesters taken-as-a-whole are almost identical. Among syllabus subscribers proportions are also highly similar for the Spring semester and for five semesters. Similarities in attendance pattern of syllabus subscribers and responding viewers during the Spring semester, and similarity of the former for the Spring semester and five semesters, suggest the tentative conclusion that the semester attendance pattern of all viewers is likely to follow the same pattern of preference for one rather than two courses in any semester.

The Commitment Hypothesis

Building on these inferences, and examining the enrollment pattern of enrollees, syllabus subscribers, and responding viewers of the Spring semester, it is possible to hypothesize a relationship between the number of courses attended during a given semester to the degree of commitment of the audience. Table 15 suggests that the percentage attending both courses in the Spring of 1961 increases from enrollees, to syllabus subscribers, to responding viewers. This relationship approaches statistical significance ($.10 > p > .05$) between enrollees and syllabus subscribers, and is statistically significant ($.02 > p > .01$) between enrollees and responding viewers. However, the difference between syllabus subscribers and responding viewers is not statistically significant ($.50 > p > .30$).

This suggests a clear-cut relationship between the number of courses to which enrollees and viewers commit themselves. Enrollees who must meet more stringent requirements and take greater risks attend fewer Television Seminar courses during a given semester than do viewers who make no formal commitments and take no risk of a low or failing grade in the courses, recorded in the annals of the University.

The neatness of this relationship is inviting, but there is a nagging suspicion something may be swept under the rug. Harkening back to the first chapter, and to the idea that television courses can not be viewed in an educational vacuum, interview data were examined to determine whether enrollees and viewers were also simultaneously enrolled for credit in college courses other than those offered on Television Seminar. This disclosed the fact that 50 percent of the Television Seminar enrollees were also enrolled during the same semester in other college credit courses, but only 10 percent of the viewers were. Interestingly 19 percent of the interested

non-viewers interviewed also were enrolled in other college credit courses.

This information reverses the hypothesis. Television Seminar course enrollees also commit themselves to other credit courses in a ratio of five to one when compared with the viewers and, in a ratio of five to two when compared with those who express interest in the courses but neither enroll nor view them. Thus, it appears that the more rigorous the nature of the commitment to Television Seminar courses, the greater the number of college courses to which commitment is made. As we will see in Chapter VIII, and as other studies show, Television Seminar course enrollees are intent on accumulating college credits to a much greater degree than are viewers and non-viewers of these televised courses.

The Course vs. the Lecture-Series Hypothesis

This commitment suggests a fundamental difference between enrollees and viewers in the way they perceive Television Seminar courses. To enrollees, the courses are exactly that--college courses taken for credit with assignments, examinations, and no nonsense about it. To the viewers, they are a well-organized series of lectures, more or less complete in themselves.

This difference in the way the Television Seminar courses are perceived is difficult to establish firmly but some evidence exists which tends to support it. For example, while neither enrollees nor viewers are highly critical of the methods of course presentation on Television Seminar, viewers tend to be less critical than enrollees. The latter pay their way or a portion of it, but the former do not. Course enrollees

like the totally relevant lecture, the crowding of information into a short period, the absence of interruptions. Viewers, on the other hand, tend to be more indulgent of personal idiosyncrasies of the professors, to be more generous in their attribution of qualities of excellence to the Television Seminar professor.

The difference between enrollees and viewers in their perceptions of and in their activities related to the courses may be described as that of college education of the enrollees and adult education for the viewers--if such a distinction can be made. The courses then serve two functions--continuing education within the conventional format of college courses, and educational service to the adult community for those who want to be informed in depth in selected areas of human history.

This distinction carries the dangers of misrepresentation, oversimplification, and misinterpretation. Such dangers may be dispelled, in part, by the discussion of audience satisfactions in Chapter VIII. No matter how utilitarian the reason given for credit enrollment, enrollees are not untouched by other benefits of the courses.

Attendance Over Time

The evidence of selectivity among courses during a given semester is only one index of the audience attendance pattern. Selectivity also operates over time, i.e., the pattern of taking only one course of the two available during a given semester may find expression in attendance of only one out of several semesters, or only one course out of the range of courses offered over several semesters. While there is an obvious relationship among these indices, each can be used separately to determine

and elaborate the pattern of "once-ness" of attendance that has already appeared in a semester's course attendance. Data on attendance over several semesters are available on all enrollees and all syllabus subscribers. Again, the presumption is that the syllabus subscribers are representative of all viewers.

The number of semesters attended out of five is shown in Table 16 for enrollees and syllabus subscribers.

TABLE 16. SEMESTERS ATTENDED OUT OF FIVE

<u>Audience</u>	<u>Semesters Attended</u>	
	<u>One</u>	<u>More than One</u>
Enrollees (175)	74 %	26 %
Syll. Sub. (535)	88	12

Again it is clear that "once-ness" is preferred in the number of semesters during which Television Seminar courses were attended by course enrollees and syllabus subscribers. Consistent with the hypothesis that the more rigorous the commitment the heavier the commitment, Table 16 suggests that a higher percentage of enrollees attend courses during more semesters than do the viewers who subscribe to course syllabi. Whereas only 12 percent of the syllabus subscribers attend courses during two or more semesters, 26 percent of those enrolled for credit do. This difference approaches statistical significance ($.10 > p > .05$).

In total number of courses attended over five semesters, the same characteristic of "once-ness" of attendance is manifest for both enrollees and syllabus subscribers. This is shown in Table 17.

Approximately two-thirds of all enrollees and syllabus sub-

scribers attend only one of the 10 courses offered over a period of five semesters.

TABLE 17. COURSES ATTENDED OVER FIVE SEMESTERS

<u>Audience</u>	<u>Number of Courses</u>	
	<u>One Only</u>	<u>More than One</u>
Enrollees (175)	67 %	33 %
Syll. Sub. (535)	64	36

Institutional Source of Enrollees

Somewhere in the process of tracing the attendance pattern of the Television Seminar audience, the question arises as to where the enrollees come from, i.e., whether they were drawn from the student population already enrolled in the College of General Studies or whether they were drawn on an area basis independent of prior or concurrent attendance in CGS. Of all enrollees in Television Seminar courses, 52 percent were previously or concurrently enrolled in campus courses in the College of General Studies, and 48 percent were not. Thus, about half the Television Seminar course enrollees come from the parent institution and half come from other colleges and universities.

Of those enrolled in the Television Seminar courses, 14 percent are candidates for a degree in the College of General Studies. Another way of interpreting the same numbers is to say that one out of seven people who enroll in Television Seminar courses is an actual degree candidate in the College of General Studies. Or put in even a different and a more significant way, 27 percent of the College of General Studies students who enroll in Television Seminar courses are

candidates for a CGS degree. This proportion is somewhat higher than that in the College of General Studies as a whole. This means that degree candidates use Television Seminar courses as a means of accelerating achievement of their goals.

When the course grades are summed for all ten courses offered in the five semesters since 1959, and in two repeat broadcasts over the summer, some interesting patterns are discovered. Among the course enrollments (not individuals enrolled) 21 percent failed to meet minimum course requirements, either by receiving conditional or failing grades or by not completing all course assignments and taking course examinations. The objective probability of unsatisfactory performance in enrollment for course credit is .21, or one in five.

On the other hand, 47 percent of the earned grades were A or B, with 12 percent A's and 35 percent B's. The proportion of C's is roughly the same as of unsatisfactory grades, 22 percent, and the remaining 10 percent were D grades. These proportions vary from course to course, as would be expected.

By the use of some technical constructs on level of aspiration, based on hypothetical preferences which involved varying degrees of risk, data obtained from interviews with Spring and Fall enrollees during 1961 suggest that roughly 60 percent of the enrollees set their aspiration level at the minimum passing grade of D. In other words, 60 percent of these course enrollees preferred the certainty or high probability of earning credit with a low grade to risking failure in the hope of earning a higher grade.

Some of the material presented in the following chapter lends

credibility to the notion that at least some of the enrollees had their mind set on earning credits. Examination of the actual grades received by those interviewed in both semesters shows that 39 percent of the grades were D or below. Thus, the theoretically derived level of aspiration of D for 60 percent of the interviewed enrollees was not too unrealistic when viewed against the actual achievement. Enrollees differ from viewers and non-viewers in that they aspired to earn college credits in Television Seminar courses. Factors involved in course performance, including grades, attendance, etc., will be investigated in a later study.

Summary

Attendance of Television Seminar courses shows a dominant pattern of "once-ness" for both enrollees and for those categories of viewers on which data are available. By inference, this pattern may be said to apply to all viewers.

However, enrollees differ from both viewers and non-viewers in that a much higher ratio of viewers enroll in on-campus college courses at the same time that they enroll for Television Seminar courses.

Rather than dismiss this difference by saying that enrollees enroll for credit because the accumulation of credits is important to them and not important to viewers or non-viewers, decision process involved in enrollment, viewing, and expressing interest but in doing neither will be examined in the following chapter. Following that, the stated objectives, the satisfactions from which goals can be inferred and the responses to the courses, the professors, and to the methods of presentation will be described.

VII. FACTORS AND PROCESSES OF DECISION

The decision to participate in Television Seminar courses and the choice of the mode of participation and the expression of rapport between the participant and the University frequently involves a complex process of decision. The part played by three factors that appear on the surface to influence decision is discussed in this chapter. These three factors are the source of information, the attractive attributes of faculty and institution, and the estimate of net gain from participation. Of these, the first two seem to be related to decision, but not to influence it strongly. The third factor closely approximates the actual decision criterion, and seems to be related to the information on the risks involved, or the absence of such information.

Information Sources

All information is found in either public or personal sources. The problem here is to discover the extent to which either source was used exclusively or in combination.

Public sources of information were newspaper articles and advertisements, television announcements, the programs encountered on the air, and the announcements posted on the bulletin boards of University buildings or sent through the mail to actual or prospective students of the College of General Studies. Personal sources were family, friends, co-workers, friends of friends, teachers, and college administrators.

The unexpected finding was the relatively high percentage of enrollees, viewers, and non-viewers who relied exclusively on public sources for information on which to base their decision. The percentage of various categories and subcategories of the audience relying solely on public information sources varied from 42 to 72 percent, with the highest proportions found among the syllabus subscribers and the responding viewers. The remainders used a combination of public and personal sources. A trivial few used personal sources only.

Some insight into how information from friends and acquaintances and absence of such information operate in decision to participate or not participate in the Television Seminar courses can be gleaned from the quotations from interviews presented in a later section of this chapter.

Attractive Attributes

All those interviewed were asked to name the college or university (a) in the nation, and (b) in the Philadelphia area which they would choose, if they had free choice, for the courses offered (on Television Seminar) during the Spring and Fall semesters of 1961. The courses in the Spring dealt with modern European history, and British romantic poetry, and the Fall courses covered art and civilization and the short story.

Choices were probed for reasons. The reasons yield insight into the attributes considered most desirable, and the order of preference indicates the relative standing of the University among national and area colleges in these attractive attributes.

Reputation for academic excellence was one such attribute, mentioned more frequently among viewers than enrollees. It is becomingly nice to assume that the enrollees in Television Seminar took the academic excellence of the University more for granted than did others and consequently mentioned it less frequently than did the viewers.

Reputation for academic excellence apparently is not something which necessarily applies across the board to a college or university as such. It applies to professors, to departments, and to curricula, as well as to the institution. A silent viewer said it this way: "If it were social studies, it probably would be Duke or Syracuse because they've done exciting things." And a syllabus subscriber said, "It would depend on what the course is. For instance, I'd like Bergen Evans at Northwestern for literature. I think Lehigh would be best for science. It depends on which school has the best reputation for the subject being taught."

From these few out of many such comments, it is clear that the reputation of professors, departments, or colleges exists for the audience insofar as known by the individual. Some of those interviewed expressed no preference among institutions because they knew so little about various colleges and universities. For them, reputation for academic excellence was vague and unformed.

Another attractive attribute mentioned in the interviews was that of personal ties, either on the part of the individual involved or of some member of his immediate family. Between 28 and 57 percent of the enrollees and viewers reported such ties to the University of Pennsylvania. Of the participants, the responding viewers had the

smallest proportion of members who mentioned personal ties to any university. This kith relationship can be as tenuous as having attended the Penn Relays as a boy with Dad, or as strong as a long established family tradition of college attendance or as having graduated and being happy about Alma Mater.

The third attractive attribute was that of institutional prestige. Institutional prestige apparently is regarded as something which rubs off on the individual. An enrollee said, "I go to Penn because it has prestige. This is unimportant--except that its prestige will help me in the kind of work I would do." Anyone familiar with studies of social stratification, with the emphasis on the college of graduation in business and government, and with the pride of alumni needs no explanation of the importance attached to college or university prestige.

For whatever combination of these attractive attributes assigned by the audience to the University, it was the college of choice in the metropolitan area of Philadelphia for over 78 percent of all enrollees and viewers of Television Seminar. With the exception of the silent viewers, between 82 and 92 percent of all other subcategories of the participating audience chose Penn as the university from which it would prefer to take the course offered on Television Seminar. Among the interested non-viewers, 60 percent, the lowest percent among all audience categories, chose Penn, 26 percent chose some other institution, and 14 percent expressed no preference. The University of Pennsylvania was also first choice nationally.

It seems clear, then, that attractive attributes associated with professors, curricula, and institutions are related to interest and

to participation in televised college courses. At best, however, these attractions seem to play only a small role, if any, in the decision not to participate in the courses.

Estimates of Net Gain and Loss

Estimate of net gain or loss from enrollment or viewing appears to be the crucial factor in decision to participate or not in the Television Seminar courses. It involves the psychological probability of success or failure in whatever terms success and failure are defined by the individual. The data on this are anything but clear cut, but there are cues in the responses of those interviewed to various probing questions which permit a crude construction of the decision process along general lines of subjective probability.

Three cases will be taken as examples, one an enrollee, another a syllabus subscriber, and the third an interested non-viewer.

This enrollee was a man of 35 who hoped to complete requirements for his bachelor's degree at another university in another area during the following academic year. A course such as one of the two offered in the Spring semester of 1961 was necessary to satisfy degree requirements. He was employed full time. He planned to take two on-campus courses that semester at the College of General Studies. Early in January he read an announcement of the courses to be offered on Television Seminar.

Here are some of the things he said during the interview:

"I never knew anyone who ever took a Television Seminar course. I asked many people about it but no one had ever taken such courses.

I was puzzled that these courses were scheduled but no one took them... I was concerned that this course was three mornings a week for one-half hour, and I had to study more often. With my evening courses, that's quite a lot. I would have liked two mornings--for an hour and one for half. It would be easier to arrange. I was afraid of it not fitting because of my work schedule. That worried me."

Nevertheless, he reported that he made up his mind to enroll in the Television Seminar course "almost immediately". As a postscript, it may be added that he completed the Television Seminar course with the grade of C.

This enrollee had a specific goal to be met within a specific time--completing requirements for the bachelor's degree. One of the two courses offered on Television Seminar courses met one of the degree requirements. This enrollee was equipped with three years of successful college experience. However, he faced the risk of an academic overload. He sought information from people who had had experience in taking Television Seminar courses, but found no one who had. Thus, no personal information on Television Seminar courses was available to him, i.e., he had no interpersonal information which would either discourage or encourage him. The presence of a strong need, the specific value of a particular Television Seminar course in meeting this need, and the absence of unfavorable information on such courses were apparently sufficient for him to make an estimate of high probability of success despite the risk imposed by his employment and academic workload.

Now take the case of a syllabus subscriber. This was also a man in his 30's. He had graduated from one of the best academic

high schools in the Philadelphia area. Immediately thereafter he went to college and earned his degree in four years. Thereupon, he attended law school. In three years he graduated. At the time he was interviewed, he was practicing law.

Intellectual achievement was high on his scale of values. He actively sought out companions with intellectual interests, read the slickpaper magazines, and watched such programs on television as "Omnibus" (discontinued), the "Bell Telephone Hour", etc.

Here is how he learned of Television Seminar, what he did about it, and what he said about it: "I guess I accidentally turned on the TV program. I was angry that I had missed it--that it had been on without my knowledge. I called the University and asked for booklets and brochures and all information about it. Then I purchased syllabi for both programs. I felt if this in anyway would help bring programs like this to the public, I was willing to contribute to it.... More people would watch if they got to know about it. I think advertising more about it would be an asset."

In this case, it is evident that a strong predisposition toward increasing intellectual activity and patronizing opportunities had long existed and was expressed in several forms. The hour of broadcast was no major problem, since it is evident that this viewer was up and about at the time the courses were telecast. The fact that he learned of the programs by accident annoyed him, presumably because chance information was a threat of deprivation to him and to others who, like himself, would find an outlet and a satisfaction of need in these courses. Upon finding that the programs were available, he took

immediate and aggressive action to collect all available information on them directly from the one place that had this information--the University. He then purchased course syllabi, presumably in part to provide better organization for auditing the courses, but at least as much and perhaps more so as a direct contribution to the expense of the courses to the University.

Whatever cost was involved--systematic early rising and the price of the syllabi--was estimated as small in comparison to the estimated gain, an estimate apparently based on the unquestionable value of attending the courses as means to the insistent goal of further intellectual development.

Now, for the non-viewer. This was a woman in her early 50's. She was an elementary school teacher. Her information on the courses came from the newspaper and was supplemented by personal information from a teaching colleague and from a friend of a friend. "A fellow teacher was telling me that she was getting up early to watch another Television Seminar course a couple of years ago. I think they're terrible expensive. Of course, you don't have transportation, etc., that you have in other courses, but sitting in your room you have no idea of what the professor is going to expect of you when you meet him face to face in an exam. Someone signed up for one of those courses not long ago and said the exam was absolutely awful and they would never take it again. I don't think anyone has ever really gone through with it. They have gotten up and switched it on once or twice."

This interested non-viewer was a resident of a state bordering on Pennsylvania and was registered for a course in one of the state

teacher's colleges. She had toyed previously with the notion of watching a Television Seminar course but found abundant reasons for not continuing after the first few lessons--it was too early in the morning, she would have to miss too many programs going somewhere else, etc. Her description of the pattern of drop-out from Television Seminar appears to have been a projection of her own behavior to others. It was contrary to the report of the friend of a friend who had taken a course, but found the examination difficult.

The need for a Television Seminar course was weak in the sense that an alternative was being pursued at another school specializing in serving elementary school teachers. The reputation of difficulty of examinations in Television Seminar courses fit into the established pattern of avoidance of these courses, raised the anxiety level, and possibly reinforced the estimate of the probability of failure. The cost of tuition was perceived as excessive despite its compensating reduction in transportation costs of attending on-campus courses.

Clearly, in this case, the estimate of the cost of enrollment, i.e., of the psychological price to be paid in tuition dollars and in probable failure to pass the course, greatly exceeded the estimate of the value and the probability of gain.

Examination of the reasons given by all the interested non-viewers interviewed in this study sheds some light on the various cost factors that operate in the decision not to participate in Television Seminar courses. Three such costs are frequently stated: (1) tuition expense, considered to be too high, either absolutely or in comparison with other area institutions; (2) early-rising, considered to be too

difficult, either because of established sleep habits, or of night-time employment; and (3) limited available time, generally because of current academic commitments or out-of-town work assignments.

Each of these cost factors is also faced by enrollees and viewers. Apparently, the subjective estimate of gain exceeds that of costs for both these classes of participants. It will also be remembered that interested non-viewers read more than enrollees, and tended to read more than viewers. This and other alternatives may influence decision not to participate in the Television Seminar courses.

Interpretation

In decision, then, the strength of the needs, the value of courses in terms of needs, the availability of acceptable alternatives, the presence or absence of negative information, appear to operate in subjective estimates of the probability of net gain or net loss from participating in Television Seminar courses. Participation or non-participation seems likely to be decided by which net appears more probable.

Neither the attractive attributes of the university nor the nature of the source of information appear to play a major part in this decision. Rather, the important thing is how this information fits into other considerations and is interpreted in terms of these considerations. Reputation of the University appears to be important only in enhancing the decision to participate, after the decision is made.

In the next chapter, we will examine in some detail the important objectives of the Television Seminar audience, the satisfactions derived from participation and the goals they imply, and the responses to the courses, the professors, and the methods of presentation.

VIII. MOTIVES, SATISFACTIONS, AND REACTIONS

Granting that the decision to participate or not in Television Seminar courses is made on the basis of psychological probability of gain or loss, then the questions arise as to what is sought, what satisfactions are found, what level of effort is demanded, and what annoyances and difficulties are encountered.

In socio-economic attributes, cultural activities, and attendance patterns only a few clear-cut differences were found among enrollees, viewers, or interested non-viewers. People who chose any of these options seem to be drawn from much the same segments of the community and to do many of the same things in much the same degree.

It would follow that in motives, satisfactions, and reactions the various categories would not differ greatly, except in more or less obvious ways. However, since the purpose of this study is to explore the social dynamics of early-morning instructional television on the college level, the motives, satisfactions, and a variety of other responses of the audience will be examined in some detail for possible insights and tentative hypotheses. All data in this chapter were obtained in interviews with enrollees, viewers, and interested non-viewers.

Objectives of Television Seminar

All those interviewed were given a list of ten objectives of participation in Television Seminar and asked to rank them in order of importance. These objectives were derived from examination of reasons given in a preliminary questionnaire study of audience formation and

reaction. The ten objectives are: self-improvement, increased intellectual interests, entertainment and relaxation, broadening of cultural interests, learning new things, getting a college degree, interest in a particular subject, improvement of chances for a better position, setting a good example for children, and improvement in social skills in conversation, popularity, etc.

In order to simplify the representation of data on rank order of importance among these objectives, the percentage was calculated of each audience category ranking each of the objectives at first, second, and third in combined order of importance. Interested non-viewers ranked these objectives in terms of importance had they decided to participate.

Implicit in the ranking ordering of objectives is the concept of multiplicity of objectives. Examination of responses of those interviewed to questions as to why they enrolled or viewed, what they got out of the courses, what they liked best and least about them, clearly indicated that objectives were multiple.

A relatively high percentage of all categories of the audience ranked three objectives as among their most important reasons for attending Television Seminar courses: increasing intellectual interests, self-improvement, and broadening cultural interests. Thus, they asserted traditional values associated with liberal education.

As was to be expected from their option, a relatively high percentage of course enrollees ranked credit for a college degree among the first three most important objectives. This percentage varied between the Spring and the Fall enrollees. College credit does not

necessarily mean that enrollees are working for an undergraduate degree. Some enrollees had such degrees and sought credit for other reasons. For others, a degree was a remote goal, or a matter of indifference.

The objectives ranked most frequently among the three most important are shown in Table 18, below.

TABLE 18. OBJECTIVES RANKED AS MOST IMPORTANT

<u>Audience</u>	<u>Intellect. Interest</u>	<u>Self. Improvem't.</u>	<u>Cult. Interest</u>	<u>Degree Credit</u>
<u>Enrollees</u>				
Spring 1961 (24)	73 %	59 %	55 %	68 %
Fall 1961 (17)	71	65	35	47
<u>Viewers</u>				
Syll. Sub. (39)	95	63	65	05
Silent (23)	70	65	43	09
Responding (40)	77	54	57	00
<u>Interested Non-Viewers</u> (42)	71	52	74	17

Interest in a particular subject, not shown in this table, was ranked among the three most important by 49 percent of the responding viewers and by 38 percent of the syllabus subscribers. Detailed examination of the rank orders of objectives shows that at least 50 percent of enrollees in both semesters ranked interest in a particular subject below fifth in order of importance. This fact is consistent with the importance they attach to college credit. Enrollment for credit in Television Seminar, it will be recalled, was

a novelty only of the technology of instruction. A high percentage of those enrolling in Television Seminar for course credit was also taking other college courses for credit, either on-campus or at some other college or university. Interest in special subject is relatively high in rank order of importance among syllabus subscribers and responding viewers, but relatively low among enrollees. Upon reflection, this seems reasonable. Viewers can afford to be highly selective in course attendance. Enrollees cannot: their course selection is partly determined by externally imposed course-credit requirements--for a degree, for job eligibility, for salary increases.

Among all categories of the Television Seminar audience, high percentages ranked the objective of increasing intellectual interests among the most important reasons for enrolling in or viewing Television Seminar courses. The highest percentage (95 percent) doing so, were the syllabus subscribers. These men and women were also those with the highest percentage of satisfaction in their social activities.

Credit as a Goal

There is some evidence of one-sidedness about enrollment for credit but this is far from universal. One enrollee said, "The reason why I take it is primarily--or should I say exclusively--for college credits." And another: "I wouldn't care what's on. They are applicable credits. When you can watch it for one-half hour and grab credits, you're crazy if you don't."

At the other extreme, here is what another course enrollee said: "Even if you flunk it, you have gained something. Not just credits--

you keep your mind alive. My own studies have kept mine alive--given me a sense of satisfaction and renewed respect for education. It has made me look more deeply at myself and get a greater awareness of a greater influence. I think my wife and I have come to a deeper understanding of ourselves--a shock of renewal to the entire family--a big influence. Even my boy feels it...even though he won't admit it....I know of a fellow who has taken the course because of me. Co-workers respect my getting up so early. There is admiration that I study with the other obligations I have."

Instrumental Value of Credit

In significant proportions, those course enrollees interviewed attached utilitarian values to college credits. When they enroll for credit, they frequently intend exactly that. Of the enrollees of both the Spring and the Fall terms of 1961, 57 percent mentioned some instrumental value that credit served such as the accretion of credits toward an undergraduate degree or toward a specified increment of credits which made them eligible for salary increase.

Among some of the enrollees, however, utility was measured in other terms such as personal testing and evaluation. One enrollee commented: "I have my master's degree but I'm taking this course for credit. I haven't had a course for awhile for credit. It shows that you are still trying to keep on the ball." Another enrollee mentioned taking one course for utilitarian reasons and another course "because I love it." And still another said, "I watch to get notes to pass the exam because I'm taking the course for credit. I guess I eventually want to get a degree. I like best just learning the subject."

Close examination of the responses of credit enrollees on the question of why they participate in Television Seminar indicates that enrollment for credit is instrumental--leading to the status symbol of the bachelor's degree, or a salary increase, or regarded as a measure of toughness of intellectual muscle and endurance.

As previously indicated, the satisfactions experienced by enrollees, as by viewers, were not confined to the early-morning grinding of the academic machinery. Few of even those most open about their instrumentalism failed to taste the nourishing fruits of liberal education. No matter how utilitarian the motive for credit enrollment, much more than credit resulted from the courses.

Satisfactions from the Courses

Whatever reasons people may have in the beginning for enrolling or viewing the courses, continuing attendance throughout the semester depends on experience or expectations of satisfactions. Close scrutiny of the responses to the question of what they get out of the courses, how they feel after the lectures, etc., indicates patterns of satisfactions, of which three can be tentatively identified: the feeling of personal adequacy and elaboration, the approval and admiration of family and friends, and the sense of strength in self-discipline and tenacity. Sometimes all three are expressed, and in other cases only one or two. The following discussions of these satisfactions includes verbatim quotations from the interviews. While extensive quantitative analyses were made of various responses, such quantifications fail to convey the richness of the response. The quotations are occasionally

repetitious, and various discussions overlap. The inclusion of some repetition was unavoidable in the attempt to convey the flavor of the responses.

Personal Adequacy and Elaboration

Satisfaction of personal elaboration is expressed in a variety of ways--a sense of usefulness, a new awareness of events and relationships, and a realization of the reduction of personal inadequacies.

Here is how one of the silent viewers expressed it: "At least I feel more useful. I get some satisfaction with myself. When I married, I stayed home and you feel that something is lacking--you are missing something in spite of all the household duties. You feel as though you are getting something useful and you can understand a lot more that happens in the world and try to keep up with the new life in this country."

An enrollee in a history course said, "I have found the necessity of learning history--if that makes sense. Dr. _____ has shown me the important relation of history to my own field."

An enrollee in a course in poetry said that the course "familiarized me with the 19th century poetry and made me interested in the 19th century itself. I think it just sort of broadens you, really--more than anything else."

And a syllabus subscriber said, "I have a higher evaluation of myself. I know where I am lacking and I feel good knowing I'm doing something to correct that inadequacy."

Others mentioned a sense of accomplishment, of mental bolstering, of wholesomeness derived from enrollment or viewing. A responding

viewer summarized it this way: "I guess I am not basically changed, but elaborated or filled out--enlarged, as could happen to anyone who learned something new."

Social Approval and Admiration

Feelings of personal adequacy and elaboration are feelings of personal worth. As such, they imply self-approval. The other side of the coin of self-approval is approval and admiration by others. These tend to confirm and reinforce the self-estimate.

Social approval is frequently expressed within the family and by friends, and occasionally and under certain circumstances, by co-workers and supervisors.

An enrollee reported social approval in these words: "My husband and whole family think it's wonderful that I'm doing it--my friends think the same thing. They also think I'm ambitious and all that stuff."

A syllabus subscriber found in his daughter's reaction some relief from the tyranny of the young: "Our daughter is proud. She is at the idealistic stage where she looks down on people who do not study, or in some way further their education and cultural advancement."

Another syllabus subscriber remarked that her friends "point their finger at me and say, 'you unique creature'. I can't convince them that it's purely selfish. I don't deserve credit, because it's something I really love to do. Of course, they also think I'm completely out of my mind; but some of them probably admire me."

In one way or another, social approval and admiration by others

is mentioned by more than half the enrollees and viewers interviewed. Perhaps its most interesting form is the hyperbole employed by friends. Exaggerated estimates of abberation are invariably interpreted as high level approval.

Self-Discipline and Tenacity

The discipline of regular attendance to Television Seminar courses at 6:30 a.m. and the tenacity of doing so throughout the entire semester are mentioned as a source of satisfaction and as a basis of approval and admiration by others. Some members of the audience imply that this approval is well deserved.

An enrollee said, "I couldn't help but feel good...because of the early hour....My friends think that it's rather noble of me to get up at 6:30 to participate."

A syllabus subscriber commented: "Well, I feel a little cocky about enjoying something like this. I love to sleep late and getting up at 6:00 instead of 7:00, I feel--Gee, look at me. I'm great! It makes me feel great. The family--they're kind of proud of me. It's funny, because they talk about it to their friends."

In this satisfaction is the heritage of the Puritan ethos. American Puritanism places high value on scholarship, on the use of the rational processes, and on strong inner controls as the mark of the worthy man. Within this Puritan ethos, many in the Television Seminar audience find satisfaction in the self-discipline and in the tenacity that completion of a Television Seminar course requires.

Responsive Attitudes and Evaluations

The audience also responded to the personalities, habits, and presentational methods of the professors on Television Seminar, to the level of course demands, to television as a medium of instruction, and to the convenience and inconvenience of at-home television instruction at 6:30 a.m.

Responses to the Professors

Responses of the audience to the professors teaching the Television Seminar courses were overwhelmingly favorable. Only 10 percent of the 144 enrollees and viewers interviewed in this study made comments which may be considered as negatively critical. Frequently these were blended with favorable comments.

On television, a lecture or a lecture-demonstration course is viewed by the audience in terms of the personality and habits of the professor, his presentation of the subject and his style of teaching. As a medium, television magnifies the role of the professor. This process of magnification by the medium has the unusual (or usual) effect of permitting the audience to create its own image of the professor. In their images of the professors the audience of Television Seminar appeared to magnify both excellence and annoyance.

In the interest of professional courtesy, campus harmony, and ordinary decency, quotations are omitted from this discussion. Many of the comments of those interviewed clearly refer to this or that professor either by name or by subject. There is no intent in this report to embarrass the professors who undertook and survived the rigors of tele-

vision teaching by quoting the generous praise they received from enrollees and viewers or the occasionally critical but, for the most part, kind and sympathetic comments on their mannerisms.

The qualities which drew the most lavish and general praise were the knowledgibility of the professors and the contributions they made to the courses from their wide scholarship and sophistication in their subject fields. A sense of humor was invariably noted and appreciated. Thoroughness in coverage, good organization, and objectivity were frequently mentioned with appreciation. Many commented that the professors were inspiring and devoted.

Professional fluency was viewed by some as a mark of high excellence and by others as a source of great annoyance. In one instance, fluency is equated with ability and lucidity, and in the other, with the contrivance of a rehearsed and taped television program. Ambivalence of this sort is not uncommon in audience response.

Nervousness of the professor on-camera was occasionally noted. Unsureness in front of the camera was noted, whether real or imagined. The common custom of smoking during an on-campus seminar was regarded by some as thoroughly inappropriate on television at 6:30 a.m. The information that the programs were taped at a much later hour seemed to make no difference. The programs were viewed at 6:30 a.m., and the professor's behavior on the television screen was viewed in terms of this before-breakfast hour of the day. Most of the audience found no objection to this, but some did, and dissents were typically loud and clear.

There is some slight evidence that a professor's rapport

with the class and his ability to project himself in the classroom is not a sure index of the same abilities in front of a television camera in a studio that looks like a warehouse. Some professors project themselves with great effect on television but not in the classroom and others reverse the situation.

The various professors teaching Television Seminar courses during the terms in which the interviews were conducted, seemed to be endowed by the audience with remarkable charismatic qualities. While it is rare that a professor is referred to as a "saint", this reference is made and it is only a deviation in the quality of the charisma which each professor assumes in the eyes of many of the audience. This may or may not be an aspect of the magnifying powers of television and of the creative powers of the audience. Whatever its source, it is apparent in the comments of the audience.

Another quality greatly admired in the television professors is their ability to condense the subject into a half-hour presentation, to fill this half-hour to over-flowing, and to pace it just right. This ability is highly essential in the half-hour format of televised courses.

Level of Course Demands

Enrollees were more critical of course demands than were viewers. Fifty percent or more of the enrollees during both semesters commented negatively on Television Seminar course demands. Fewer than 20 percent of any category of viewers made negative comments. This is to be expected, since course demands are, in fact, greater for enrollees than for viewers.

Examination of the comments of enrollees on course demands indicates that those who commented negatively did so for one of three reasons. Some felt that the pace of the course was excessive to the time they had to do the assignments. This is understandable, considering that many enrollees in Television Seminar courses were also enrolled in one or two other courses at the same time and that, with few exceptions, they held jobs, either as wage-earner or as housewives and mothers. The problem seems to be that of over-extension of commitments of time and effort of the enrollees.

The second source of difficulty with course demands was what was considered to be inadequate bibliographies, indefinite assignments, insufficient detail of course outlines, and dull textbooks. This complaint is not intrinsic to instruction by television. It is more or less common when professors do not provide a detailed blueprint for their students, and throw them on their own resources. It is, however, intensified when course enrollees schedule their time heavily, and available time is not one of their most abundant resources.

A third source of complaint is lack of periodic feed-back on progress in the course. In some instances, written assignments were said not to be returned promptly to the students, and when so, that they contained few specific or over-all comments. Also, some professors gave only one examination--the final. Final examinations tend to arouse anxiety among students, more so when much depends on a single examination. Contrariwise, favorable comments are made when written assignments are relatively frequent, promptly returned, and well annotated by the professor.

Television as a Medium of Instruction

Instruction by television inevitably seems to provoke the ritualistic complaint that students have no opportunity for personal contact with their professors or to know him in a personal sense, and that the medium is limited in one way or another not clearly specified.

Another complaint is that it is basically a visual medium, unsuited to the presentation of abstract subject matter, which could as easily or better be presented over radio. People making such complaints say that the picture of the professor on the screen distracts attention from what the professor says. This is a television director's problem. In the tradition of the entertainment medium and its star system, the TV director will often use close-ups of interesting faces and dramatize the facial interest for program appeal.

These two criticisms comprise the substance of the relatively few negative comments on the use of television as a medium of instruction. It is interesting that both are refuted by other enrollees and viewers, who honestly report, among other things, that they rarely ask questions in class anyway, and that in some subjects, the combination of visuals and commentation is the essence of good presentation.

The significant overall fact is that relatively few in the audience made either favorable or unfavorable comments on television as a medium of instruction. Some of the negative comments dealt with such things as poor focus, or the need for repair of the set. Many of the favorable ones dealt with the concentration of instruction in a brief period of time, the desirable preclusion of opportunity for a few students to monopolize discussion or interfere with the delivery

of the lecture.

Interviews with enrollees and viewers indicate that the medium of television interposes no serious problems in itself, that the difficulties associated with instructional television are largely those of over-all teaching methodology, of overcoming the lack of familiarity and ease in teaching over this exacting medium, and of maintenance or operation of the television receiver so as to receive a clearly-focussed picture.

Convenience and Inconvenience

With the exception of the responding viewers, many of whom appear to be early risers, the hour of broadcast presented some problems, but the convenience of home viewing, of the half-hour periods, and of relief from hazards of traffic and difficulties of parking far outweighed the hardship of early-rising. This was specially true of the enrollees, but it was more or less true of viewers also. Some enrollees "rationalized" or "balanced" the early hour of the morning by regarding it as a gain in the useful day rather than a loss of sleep at night.

Conveniences of Television Seminar courses are summed up in the following comment by an enrollee: "I prefer the TV course to a classroom course, because first of all I have a front seat in the course. I'm in front of the set. I will not miss classes and when winter comes along, I won't have to battle the snow to get there. I will have no parking problems. The only disadvantage with a course at home is that you cannot ask questions, although even when I'm in a classroom I was too shy to ask a question anyway."

It might be added that lack of competition for the television set at 6:30 in the morning may be an advantage. A study of the enrolled audience of televised college courses in Oregon indicates that the probability of enrollment in college credit courses during evening hours is reduced by the size of the family, if only one set is available.

In the opinion of some college educators experimenting with programmed and automated instruction, the classroom will be obsolete as a locus of instruction within the next fifteen years. Advances in teaching procedures made possible by the rapidly developing technology of instruction and of communication lead to the prediction of revolutionary changes in physical arrangements, social processes, and institutional operations in higher education in the foreseeable future.

However, while the over-all pattern of change is predictable, the rate of change is not, nor is the nature of the arrangements clear in its details.

Responses of the audience of Television Seminar courses indicate that at least a small proportion of the public is aware of and takes advantage of some of the broad patterns of educational change already made available by television.

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